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OUR CONTRIBUTORS AND THEIR CONTRIBUTIONS

Shri R. N. Gupta of the Department of Archæology, Government of India, Nagpur, deals with the ethnic influences reflected in a study of one hundred sculptures of the Gāndhāra period selected from amongst the sculptures in the Indian Museum, Calcutta.

Shri P. C. Roy Chaudhuri, Special Officer for Revision of Gazetteers, Patna, describes the belief of the people of Chotanagpur in witchcraft and the influence it exercises even on the educated sections of society in Bihar.

Shri M. G. Venkatesiah, Head Master, Government High School, Bellary, examines the relative frequency of occurrence of the phonemes *k*, *g*, *kh*, and *gh*, in Kannaḍa language and concludes that there exists an equilibrium between the magnitude or degree of complexity of a phoneme and the relative frequency of occurrence.

Dr. P. S. Sastri of the University of Saugor, Madhya Pradesh, describes the lyrics of Love and Beauty found in the Ṛgveda in his article "Ṛgvedic Lyrics of Love and Beauty."

Shri Severine Silva of Karwar continues his translation of the twenty-first and the twenty-second chapters of "Yearly Records of the Mission of Caruar" recording the events of 1800 and 1801.

Shri D. N. Krishnayya, formerly of the Coorg Educational Service, narrates the story of the deposition of Chickaveerarājēndra Wadeyar, the last ruler of Coorg and the annexation of Coorg by the British.

Dr. M. Seshadri, Director of Archæology in Mysore, replies to the Editorial Note on "Some Reported Recent Discoveries of the Mysore Archæological Department" published in Volume XLIX, pages 206–207.

Shri K. D. Swaminathan of the Epigraphical Department, Government of India, Ootacamund, refers to certain alleged errors in the article on "Tamil Art and Culture in Pudukkottai" published in Volume XLIX, pages 92–95.

OURSELVES

The Honourable Shri M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar, Speaker, Lok Sabha, New Delhi, visited the Society on Sunday the 17th of January 1960 at 10 A.M. and addressed the Members of the Society. He was pleased to record:

> "I am glad to learn that the Mythic Society is trying to propagate Indian culture which is based on service and sacrifice.
>
> "I wish the Society will grow in usefulness and in strength."
>
> M. A. AYYANGAR
>
> 17-1-60

Shri R. R. Diwakar, ex-Governor of Bihar and President, Gandhi Smarak Nidhi, was present on the occasion.

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ETHNIC INFLUENCE ON GĀNDHĀRA SCULPTURES

R. N. GUPTA, M.SC.

From the arts and crafts of a people we come to know not only their cultural complex but also the geographical, faunal, and floral environment with which they are familiar. Where written records of the past are not available, the arts and crafts of the people of any place prove to be of great assistance in building up the story of the past and sculptures assume immense significance to the archæologists in this task.

The sculpture of a particular region reveals the material culture of a people such as dress, ornaments, hair-dressing, etc. The ethnic type is also portrayed in the sculptures. As an example, it may be said that though Indian in origin, 'Buddha' becomes 'Mongoloid' when drawn or sculptured by an artist of the Mongolian country. This indicates that the artist who created the figure of 'Buddha' saw and was also surrounded by Mongolians whose ethnic characteristics are manifested through his figurative art.

One hundred sculptures of Buddha and Bodhisattvas in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, were studied and by anthropological and statistical study an endeavour has been made to put forward

in this article, the ethnic characteristics that have influenced the sculptures of the 'Gāndhāra School.'

The term 'Gāndhāra' is mentioned in the Ṛgveda which goes back to about the second millennium B.C. The *Brāhmaṇa* and *Upaniṣads* throw some light on the political conditions of Northern India during the age of the great Janaka. The name of Gāndhāra is mentioned among the nine important states of the time. In Ṛgveda and Atharva Veda the people of Gāndhāra are mentioned as '*Gāndhāras*.' The Vedic text hardly furnished any definite clue as to the exact position of the state. Poets of the *Uttarapatha* describe this country as lying on both sides of the Indus with two great cities of Taxila and Puṣkarabhūti in the Rawalpindi District of the North-West Punjab and the Peshawar District of the North-West-Frontier Province. The Buddhist text, *Anguttaranikāya*, throws light on the political condition of India during the sixth century B.C.

When Buddha was preaching his sermons, Northern India was divided into sixteen monarchical states. *i.e. Śoḍasa mahājanapad* and Gāndhāra was one of them. Gāndhāra is mentioned in historical literature as part of Achaemenian Empire in the time of Cyrus the Great (558-528 B.C.) (Ray Chaudhary, 1953). A clear cut and detailed information about the Gāndhāra region is also found in the account of the Chinese pilgrim Huan-Tsang, who visited Indian Buddhist sites in the early seventh century A.D. The areas included in this region are the Peshawar valley including the hilly districts of Swat and Buner to the north, extending on the east to the Indus River including some adjacent districts such as Taxila. At the north, east and west, Gāndhāra region was bound by high mountains and in the south the flat Indus valley spread out for some 700 miles up to the Indian Ocean. Through Khyber Pass it had connections with the other countries for many centuries past.

According to N.G. Mazumdar, the earliest sculptures go back to the second century B.C. Sir John Marshall opines that the age of the Gāndhāra sculpture begins in the early part of the first century A.D. Under the reigns of Kāniṣka and Huviṣka it reached

its zenith in the second century. But declined somewhat in the reign of Bāsudēva (Vāsudeva) and came to an end at about 240 A.D. During the next 140 years (from 250-390 A.D.) this school of art seems to have been non-existent in the North-West until the last quarter of the fourth century till the advent of Kidara or little Kuśānas who re-established the art, which is generally known as 'Indo-Afghan school' (Marshall, 1918). Wheeler believes that the dating of the Gāndhāra school is not earlier than the second century A. D. (Wheeler, 1949). Bachhofer thinks that the earliest Buddha figure belongs to the first century B.C. and is comtemporary with Kāniṣka in whose reign the 'Mathura School of Sculpture' also flourished (Bachhofer).

Stones used for the Gāndhāra sculptures are made of clay-slate or schist stones available from the quarries of Swat and Buner hills. Due to the nature of composition of these stones the sculptures are bluish in colour. There are also sculptures made from clay and stucco (Mazumdar, 1937).

An examination of the racial traits reflected in one hundred 'Gāndhāra-Sculptures' selected for study at the Indian Museum, Calcutta, is given in the table on page 10.

Thus it appears from the chart that each group of heads are associated with the higher percentage of oval face, straight nasal bridge, septum of the nose horizontal, forehead straight, slit of the eyes straight and wide, supra orbital ridges trace, and crown of the head medium. Though not in higher percentage, still a considerable number of sculptures having elliptical face, slightly convex nasal bridge, septum of the nose directed upwards or downwards, receding forehead, medium eyes, crown of the head vaulted, are also found. In long-head grouping six heads show the septum of the nose directed upwards and in three it is directed downwards. In medium-head group, there are eight heads showing septum of the nose directed upwards and in two it is directed downwards. In the broad-head group there is no sculpture with manifested septum of the nose directed upwards but there is only one head showing septum directed downwards. Apart from these, in long-head type there are two sculptures having

eye-slit slightly oblique. In medium and broad-head types there is one specimen having eye-slit slightly oblique in each group. Among the broad-head type of sculptures studied there is no elliptical face and no nasal septum upwardly directed. The other characters mentioned below are same in all the three forms of heads.

Wavy hair thick in quantity, forehead medium, large and free earlobes with some perforated for ear ornaments, depression of the nasal root very shallow, zygomatic arch none, thin lips, prominent and oval chin (a few are found), angle of the lower jaw sub-medium, and prognathism none, are certain traits found.

From the above mentioned study it is clear that though there is homogeneity in ethnic character, it shows some differences. Before discussing these differences let us consider the racial migrations which took place in the Gāndhāra region because it is essential for the study of the racial admixture and classification of the ethnic group.

Prehistoric and anthropological researches make it fairly certain that long prior to the second millennium B.C. there was diffusion throughout Asiaminor, Armenia, Mesopotemia which is given the name as 'Near Eastern Race,' very closely akin to Dinaric race. There was an Indo–Germanic eruption from the north and had a strong admixture of a Nordic race. During the first half of the second millennium B.C. Semitic immigrants made their way upwards along the Euphratis and Tigris. They are known as 'Oriental Race.' The original home of this race is uncertain, probably they came from the West as distinguished by their tall stature, long and narrow face, long and narrow cranium, thick and fleshy lips, narrow and prominent nose. It is a type closely akin to 'Mediterranian' ethnic type (Fischer, 1931).

Considering the ethnic type and the movement of the people of the North-West-Frontier Province, Dixon also thinks that at about second millennium B.C. the western plateau of the Caucasius was invaded from north by 'Indo-European' types. From the period of the Medo-Persian kingdom (first millennium B.C.) for 2,000 years, new immigrants from time to time came to the

Iranian plateau. Hellenic culture was spread in the Seleucidian period by the colonists and traders from Greece and Macedonia bringing probably 'Mediterrano-Caspian' and 'Alpine' factor, while later, Parthians and other peoples from Turkisthan and vicinity, brought Caspain and Alpine element in Khorasan and western Afghanisthan. After the beginning of the Christian Era a change in racial element of Ephthalites, Huns, Turks and Mongols, primarily brachycephals, brought in a good factor of 'Palae-Alpine' type. Later on, Arab conquest brought considerable dolichocephals.

Before discussing about the ethnic type of the present inhabitants of North-West-Frontier Province for racial study, it is essentially important to consider the political condition and the migration of the people of the state. Gāndhāra is first mentioned in historical literature as a part of Achaemenian empire in the time of Cyrus the Great (558-528 B.C.)

Somewhere about 80 B.C. the Śakas under the leadership of Maues started from Arabia up to the Indus to the Greek centres. His conquest of Taxila and Gāndhāra disconnected the Greeks of the Eastern Panjab from those of the Paroeamisadae. Hon-Han-Shu recorded the conquest of the Kuśān king Kadaphies, the chief of the Yeuh-Chi tribe. The Kuśāns ruled India in the first and second centuries A.D. According to Tarn, they ruled roughly from the beginning of the first century B.C. At that time the Greeks in India were becoming Indianised (Tarn 1951).

About one thousand years between the conquest of Cyrus and white Huns, Gāndhāra was under native domination for slightly over a hundred years of Mauryan rule (305-190 B.C.). Otherwise the country suffered a succession of foreign invaders such as Achaemenian (553-327 B.C.), Greek (327-05 B.C.), Bactrian (190-90 B.C.), Śaka (90 B.C.-64 A.D.), Kuśān (64 A.D.-460 A.D.), Susanian (240 A.D. - 460 A.D.) (Harald Ingbolt, 1957).

The Śakas owing to the pressure of Yeuh-Chi arrived in India at about 154-140 B.C. and occupied the plains of Peshawar. Korthians of Persian and Yavanas of Asiatic Greeks settled in North-West India about this time. The Parsi from Persia

migrated to India in 640 A.D. From the Eurasian steppes came Proto-Nordics who are known in history as Medes. The Semitic migrations have further modified the type of these Persians. Mainly two groups of Persians are recognised, the first slender dolichocephalics Farsi who are Persepollis being largely Proto-Nordic, and the second Loris-taller, very dolichocephalics, oval face, seems to be a branch of the Mediterranean race.

From the report of the various authors such as Professors R. B. Dixon, G. Dainelli and Renato Biasutti and the Italian expedition under D. Filippi to the Upper Himalaya and Kara-koram ranges in 1913-14 and of the scientific expedition sent by the Government of India in 1929, it appears that several racial strains have gone into the composition of the tribes but, still there is a homogeneity of physical characters which constitute the ethnic types of the North-West Frontier Province.

Now let us consider the different types of the people with their racial criteria that go to form the present population of the Gāndhāra region. According to Risley these people are mainly 'Indo-Iranian' in whom we find the preponderance of long to medium head, long and narrow face, prominent and finely curved nose. Due to the Semitic influence we are getting elliptical face, straight or convex and finest nose. He thinks that the Mediterranean influence is apparent through long head, straight and narrow nose, and oval face. Elliot Smith coined the term 'Brown Race' for this type.

Paṭhāns, Red Kaffirs, Kalash, Khos, Burish, Dardi, Badakshis, and Kashmīris constitute the main population of the North-West Frontier Province. Analysing the physical features of the people the anthropologists are of the opinion that among the several racial strains the first of all underlying substratum is, tall stature, long headed, fine nosed type prevalent among the Paṭhāns, Red Kaffirs, Kalash. The second racial strain is broad headed with long aquiline nose, medium hair and eyes, who are allied to Dinaric race of East Europe which entered across the Hindukush and Palmir mountains. This strain is also found among the Red Kaffirs, in northern Paṭhāns, Khus, Burish and

in Dardi. The Asiatic Dinaric race is probably dislodged from Russian Turkisthan. According to Fischer the other racial strains are represented by Badakshis and termed by him as 'Oriental Race' characterised by long headed type. Finally there appears above all an indigenous population underlying throughout the entire territory having long head and medium nose. This type is found among the Machnopa, Purigi, and Canets of Kulu and among the Dardis, Baltis, and Brokpa (Census, 1931). Baltis are the descendants of the Śakas belonging to Proto-Nordic steppe folk. The Yeuh-Chi of Turky descent coming from Bactria conquered Kābul at about 200 A.D. and became themselves masters of North-West India. The White Huns of Ephthalite—a mixed Turky and Tungus people poured into India by about 450 A.D. The Gujars are believed to be of Hun descent (Haddon, 1924).

Ujfalvy says that the Kaffirs are very dolichocephalic but Joyce and Risley think that they are simply dolichocephalic. According to Eickstedt this might be the strain of Fischer's 'Oriental Race.' Analysing the data of Joyce and Sir A. Stein it is found that the Kaffirs are more related to Paṭhāns who are entirely a strong admixture of 'Oriental race.' Ujfalvy is also of the opinion that a Dardic element is also apparent among the Kaffirs. Describing the general physical types of the Kaffirs, Robertson says that they are dolichocephalic, leptoprosopic and of medium stature. There is a traditional tale that they are the descendants of the warriors of Alexander the Great and the region inhabited by these people once formed the part of the Śaka empire, and many monuments of Greako-Buddhist art are also found there. The Dardi characters described by Ujfalvy exhibit dark and wavy hair, powerful body, and frequently connected brows.

Biasutti says that the Brokpas were reported to be Buddhist. He is of the opinion that Brokpa is derived from two types—a large mesorrhine brachyprosopic, perhaps the dolichocephalic and, the other Dardic type of Indo-Iranica which is slightly brachycephalic.

The Machnopa shows less often Indo-Iranic short heads of Palmeric affinity. They are tall, leptorrhine, dolichocephalics of

Siwalic affinity but the prevailing type is Dardic (Eickstedt, 1926).

Dardis are dolichocephalic, height below average, black wavy hair, fine shaped nose. According to Deniker the people of North-West Frontier Province belong to 'Indo-Afghan' race (Deniker, 1900).

Garson studied five skulls from the Hindukush District which show the preponderance of dolichocephalic, forehead somewhat receding, superciliary ridges and glabella are feebly developed, having long and narrow face. According to him they are a mixed race without any Mongolian affinity. He says, " It will be best to consider them as being the same stock as the inhabitants of Northern India" (Garson, 1888–89). Crooke thinks that the Afghans seen in the Indian plains are originally Turks by race and introduced within historical times (Crooke, 1907).

The Kashmīris living in the North-West Frontier Province, as described by Ujfalvy are a people having about medium height, powerful body, dark and brilliant eyes, long and straight nose, thin lips, and oval face.

Dixon is of opinion that the people of Northern India are marked by considerable homogeneity. They are characteristically tall, comparable with South Italian having straight or wavy hair, dominantly dolichocephalic with narrow often aquiline nose. The small minority of brachycephals may be due to the admixture of the Alpine type. These people as a whole were termed by him as 'Caspian-mediterranean' type (Dixon, 1923).

The present population in Afghanisthan and Baluchisthan show the relative importance of long and round head factor in the population. Among the Kurds, Azarbaidjan Tartars, Mezgliani, dolichocephalic factors prevail and in main are of the 'Caspian-mediterranean' type. In general the people are over medium stature. A bit of very significant evidence is afforded by the tiny remnant of the old Persian population known as Guebres found in parts of Yeze and Kirman. The adult crania are dolichocephalic, a mixture of 'Caspian and Mediterranian' type. Western Persia has mixed population of brachycephalic and a large element

of dolichocephals. The Guebres and Farsis represent a mixed group of ancient population. The majority of Afghans are Dolichocephalic, the Caspian-Mediterranean type being strongly predominant. Dixon believes that the Iranian Plateau had two physical types—Afghans occupying eastern Afghanisthan and their other kinsmen near Peshawar of the Alpine type. This is due to less affected area than that in the west by the dolichocephalic immigrants of the second millennium B.C.who passed in India and settled there.

Thus it appears that though this province was inhabited by different ethnic groups of people, the present study shows there is a basic homogeneity of racial criteria found among modern inhabitants. Though different terms are used by different authors, the physical features show a basic similarity. Broadly speaking the term 'Indo-Afghan' is accepted by most of the scholars today. The physical features of the 'Indo-Afghans' are dolichocephalic to mesocephalic, wavy hair, long and narrow face, prominent nose, straight or convex but finely curved.

It has already been proved by the scholars, that from the very dawn of civilisation migrations and admixtures of people are going on in the world. No single individual is responsible for this crossing-over which is continuing on this globe and no race can be called pure in the strictest sense. Though basically every race manifests homogeneity of racial character due to the various admixtures, the physical criteria of the people have undergone many changes manifesting the different racial influence on physical characters of a particular nation or tribe. The works of scholars who constructed the history of migrations, immigrations, diffusions and settlements of different peoples which go to constitute the racial elements of the place also corroborate with this present study. This study of the representation of the ethinic type of the selected Gāndhāra sculptures at the Indian Museum shows that the majority are of 'Indo-Afghan' racial type with Mediterranean influence. The elliptical face is due to the Semitic admixture. The broad-headed type is responsible for the settlement and admixture of the Turks with Alpine influence.

Percentage of the Different Physical Criteria found from the study of the Sculptures

		Long Head	Medium Head	Broad Head
Total No. out of 100 specimens	...	60	30	10
Crown of the Head				
Medium	...	46	17	5
Vaulted	...	14	13	5
With oval face	...	47	26	8
With round face	...	3	3	2
With elliptical face	...	10	1	Nil
Nasal Bridge				
Straight	...	50	25	8
Slightly Convex	...	10	5	2
Septum of the Nose				
Directed Upwards	...	6	8	Nil
Directed Horizontal	...	51	20	9
Directed Downwards	...	3	2	1
Forehead				
Straight	...	53	27	10
Slightly receding	...	7	3	Nil
Supra orbital ridges				
Trace	...	58	28	9
Moderate	...	2	2	1
Eye				
Straight	...	58	29	9
Slightly oblique	...	2	1	1
Medium	...	24	12	4
Wide	...	36	18	6

I heartily thank Shri Adrish Banerjee, Assistant Superintendent, Department of Archæology, for his kind encouragement and Shri R. C. Kar, Superintendent, Department of Archæology, for the kind help received by me.

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WITCHCRAFT IN BIHAR

P. C. Roy Chaudhury

Witchcraft is a living cult in Bihar. It claims lakhs of adherents who have implicit belief in it. There are hundreds who practise witchcraft as a part of their daily life, either as the witch or wizard or as the witch doctor. Belief in witchcraft in Bihar is not confined to the Ādibāsis of Chotanagpur and the Santhal Parganas alone but extends to some extent among the intelligentia and the English educated people also of almost all the districts and the Santhal Parganas. The other districts which claim a large number of adherents of the cult are the Champaran and the Palamau Districts.

The root of the witchcraft cult among the Ādibāsis is in the hierarchy of spirits that he has to propitiate. To him there is a Supreme spirit, the Marang Buru of the Santhals or the Uraons, the Sing Bonga of the Muṇḍas or Hos and beneath him a host of spirits that have separate functions, some causing illness, some bringing prosperity and then the host of family spirits that live in the Sal forest nearby or in the *Sasan-diri* (the burial-place) and even the Chuprasi-Bonga whose only function is to accompany the spirit immediately after its release from the body. To the simple Ādibāsis, the Chuprasi of the government is almighty and no wonder he has a Chuprasi-Bonga in his hierarchy of spirits.

A brief survey could be made of some of the other Bongas or spirits that make up the Ādibāsis' spirit world. One is Ikir-Bonga, the spirit of the deep water. This spirit is ever ready to put his services at the disposal of wizards and witches. Usually a spot is reserved for Ikir-Bonga in a village and no one may make a field there, and the trees on that land cannot be cut without the permission of the Pahan or the spiritual head. Baram–Bonga is the second in command and is a brother of Sing-Bonga. Sing-Bonga is the chief Godhead. He is invoked in cases of pestilence

and has to be propitiated with liver, meat and rice-beer. Boranda-Bonga is a lesser head and he does not recieve from anybody any higher kind of sacrifice. Deoras or witch doctors usually offer Boranda-Bonga *pūja* to propitiate the spirits that cause illness. Then there are the numerous Orabonga or domestic spirits who represent the departed ones of the family.

Bongaism is the very life of the Ādibāsis. To them the term Bonga denotes any one with intelligence and free-will and not fettered by anything either by nature or by death. They live in a world separate but close to the visible world. But the Bongas that have direct bearing with witchcraft are the mischievous Bongas often called after the particular mischief they do. These are handy spirits who may be forced into the services of the witches and wizards to create mischief.

The only protection against the witches is the *mantras* or *Kriah-karmas* of the Sokhas and the Deoras. The Deoras form the second grade licentiates in witch-finding while the Sokhas are the upper grade witch doctors. The Sokhas practise divination with rice, grains, idols, flags, milk, ghee, etc. Their chief business is to find the names of the spirits and witches that have caused the illness or misfortune. A Sokha claims his powers from Mahadeo, Parbati and Ganga Mae and not from Sing Bonga. His incantations lead him to mention the spirits, the witches or the wizards and the sacrifices but usually he would not offer the sacrifices. He has been described to be exclusively a minister of the witchcraft system.

There are other types of Deoras known as Maran Deora or Hurin Deora who would however offer sacrifices. The *mantras* that are cited really invoke the Sing Bonga, the Supreme Godhead and are thought-provoking. Witch-finding is usually done through a medium, auto-suggestion or a sort of hypnotism. At times a boy is chosen as the medium and through questions and cross-questions the identity of the witch is established. Sokhas usually get into hysteric fits or trance and at times their appearance is fearful.

To the tribals witchcraft is a cult with religious sanctity. If there is an outbreak of epidemic, if there are large scale depredations from tigers, if a wandering tribe has to shift from one place to another, there must be some spirit that has to be propitiated. To the tribal mind the clouds, the thunder, the rains, the welfare of the crops, the welfare of the cattle or the family all depend on the Bongas that rule their destiny.

There is a sort of research in witchcraft, strange as it may seem. Illness is traced by the witch doctor either to *Najom* (Poison) or *Tiji* (Bacteria) or spirit infusion and the specifics are different as prescribed by the witch doctor. The witch doctor is already armed with jungle herbs to treat either *Najom* or *Tiji*. But the disease may also be due to the working of a witch by spirit infusion for some reason or other. This is a difficult case and will require a witch doctor of stronger calibre.

The witch doctor will have to find out by incantations if the witch has transplanted herself in the body of the patient or has brought about the illness by some other agency. It is commonly believed that while asleep the soul substance could be squeezed out and infusion of evil spirit takes place. Another agency is to make a small effigy of the persons affected and to drive a poisonous dart through the effigy. For this purpose the person's discarded hair, cloth or nails are very necessary. That is one of the reasons why hairs when cut are to be buried or thrown in a water pool. The night of the New Moon is usually chosen for infecting a person as well as to take out the influence of the evil spirit from him. On this night, on the floor of the swept room of the witch, faggots will be burnt and with incantations the witch or wizard will burn the nails, or the piece of a cloth worn by the victim. The smoke is inhaled by the witch and she carefully sweeps the ashes and preserves it. The next step is to sprinkle the ash in the *illi* (Rice-beer) or on wild berries and the stuff is widely distributed. No one will be affected by partaking it excepting the victim. The result may be high fever or convulsions or sudden pain in the body.

It is also commonly believed that witches can metamorphose themselves into various animals. This is known as Chandar-

Bandar among the Muṇḍas. They think that the natural tiger is never a man-eater but men, temporarily changed into tigers attack and eat up human beings or cattle. It is usually held that the power of metamorphoses comes from one particular spirit.

A common practice in the Singhbhum and other Districts of Chotanagpur is that when a man falls seriously ill, he is made to touch a little *arua* rice which is taken to the witch doctor or Sokha. He puts the rice in a *sup* (a winnowing fan) and goes on reciting the names of the departed ancestors of the sick persons and puts questions. In the process of the recital as soon as a little disturbance in the rice is noticed (somehow a disturbance is usually noticed) then the particular spirit is held to be the cause. He is propitiated. The *sup* method is commonly known as *Bonga Nam* in the Singbhum District.

If the ordinary *pūjah* or sacrifices fails to stop the illness or the epidemic or the failure of the crops, the Sokha will often go into a trance when approached and give indications that it is a witch in the person of usually an old woman who lives in a particular direction that has caused all the trouble. When this prophecy is made, the villagers as a body, not even excluding the husband or the son of the witch woman, will start persecuting her and often torture her to death. There are even now dozens of witchcraft murder cases in the State every year.

Witchcraft has its influence on tribal laws. The tribal law forbids taking of food from the hands of a stranger or *Diku*. The tribal law looks with disfavour on any one who breaks the restrictions imposed by the social customs. This restriction is directly connected with witchcraft. A stranger may be the agent of the evil spirit or the witch.

Crime among the Ādibāsis has much to do with the social customs and beliefs based on witchcraft. This has been fully accepted by the Law Courts which usually take a somewhat lenient view of the murders based on witchcraft and social customs as the belief in such customs provides the extenuating circumstance explaining the murder.

Witchcraft in the other districts of Bihar has more or less the same pattern as seen in the Ādibāsis. Due to a different level of culture there is however a more rationalised cult. Exorcism in witchcraft by means of Tantric rites is the common feature. The temples of *Chinnamasta* in Hazaribagh, *Khargadevi* in Champaran, *Bagalamukhi Jantra* at Gaya and Muzaffarpur, and the Nepali Temple at Hajipur indicate the wide sway of Tantricism in Bihar. There are *Tantriks* now in Bihar who are adept in *Maran*, *Mohan*, *Uchatan* and *Basikaran mantras*. In the Palamau District alone there are about 1,600 couplets of *mantras* of witchcraft.

In widely separated areas like the Tharuhat in Champaran and in the interior of Daltonganj, regular training is imparted where the student is taught to establish supremacy over a particular spirit or *Jin*. Here also there is a hierarchy of spirits with *Brahm* at the head while there are Uraon, Khariya, Khhatriya, Kharwan, Ahir and Dushadh spirits. After the novitate period is over the disciple is tested by ordeal. A common ordeal is that he should invoke the spirit he has captivated and put his hand in a burning cauldron. If his fingers get burnt he has to serve the *guru* again.

Concrete results of the practice of witchcraft are seen in the mental cases. Schizo-phrenia cases are common. Here the patient thinks he is controlled by some spirit or voice somewhere. The other common type is spirit possession where the patient's body and soul are said to be in possession of some *Jin* or spirit. Usually the patient is hypnotised and it is claimed that the spirit is driven out by the exorcist. The other typical cases are diabolical manifestations, religious phantasies, deifications and demonaical ecstasy. There has not been much of critical study of witchcraft in Bihar as yet which offers a rich field for an intensive study of the highly provocative subject. Witchcraft has survived the disintegration of tribal culture due to the impact of modern civilization.

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A PRELIMINARY INQUIRY INTO THE RELATIVE FREQUENCY OF OCCURRENCES OF *k,g, kh* AND *gh* PHONEMES IN KANNAḌA LANGUAGE

M. G. VENKATESAIAH

In the paper on *The Initial Surd Medial Sonant Postulate*[1] an investigation was undertaken to observe certain main characteristic behaviour of the phonemes *k* and *g* to examine the evidence of the existence of the postulate in Kannaḍa language. Conclusion was arrived there that in Tamil one character stands for either a *surd* or a *sonant* according to its *position* while the Kannaḍa language has separate characters for *surds* and *sonants*. From what was observed we are apt to conclude that in the Kannaḍa language *k* and *g* are separate and distinct phonemes, although in some instances *k* is changed into *g*; even the *sonant g* is an integral and essential part of the Kannaḍa language.

In the present study of *k,g, kh* and *gh* phonemes our primary aim is to observe, as far as it is possible, if the phonemes confirm to a certain general tentative law—the *Law of Abbreviation* as stated by Zipf[2]—in their behaviour.

Problem

The investigation centres round the following :

(1) Do the aspirated phonemes *kh* and *gh* being more complex than *k* and *g* phonemes, exhibit lesser relative frequency of occurrence ?

(2) What is the relationship observed between the relative frequency of occurrence in the stream of speech between *k* and *g* phonemes ?

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1 *Q.J.M.S.* Vol. XLV. Pp. 135–147

2 *Human Behaviour and the Principle of Least Effort :* Zipf. p. 63. Addission-Wesley Press, Inc. Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1949.

(3) To what extent does the behaviour confirm to the *Law of Abbreviation* as stated by Zipf ?

Material for study

Twenty-five inscriptions from *Śāsanapadyamanjari*—Poetical extracts from the inscriptions 700 A.D. to 1196 A.D.—are taken for the study of the Relative Frequency of Occurrences of *k* and *g* phonemes and are tabulated in table I.

For the study of the Relative Frequency of Occurrences of *kh* and *gh* phonemes Voḍḍārādhane (extract published in *Sāhitya Parishat Patrike*, Vol. XXIV Oct-Dec. 1939) is taken for observation.

In order to study the behaviour of *k* and *g* phonemes in Kannaḍa literary works *Voḍḍārādhane* (extract) and *Kumāravyāsa Bhārata* (*Sabhāparva*, *Araṇyaparva* and *Virāṭaparva* published in Mysore Oriental Library Series, Mysore) are taken, investigated and tabulated in table II.

TABLE I

SHOWING THE RELATIVE FREQUENCIES OF *k* AND *g* PHONEMES IN *Śāsanapadyamañjari*

Inscription No.		*Date*	*Relative Frequencies of occurrence*			
		A.D.	*k*	*g*	*k*	*g*
Śravaṇabeḷgoḷa	27	700	4	3		
,,	76	,,	3	5		
,,	88	,,	2	5		
Bādāmi			9	8		
Muḷubāgal	38	900	12	10		
Kottūr			3	10	33	41
Mandya	41	949	8	10		
Śravaṇabeḷgoḷa	139	950	12	7		
Belūr	123	952	8	19		
Śravaṇabeḷgoḷa	59	974	20	22		
,,	133	982	53	35	101	93
Soraba	184	1032	10	9		
Śikāripur	151	1047	18	23		
,,	110	1070	11	6		
Soraba	299	1073	12	13		
Śikāripur	114	1096	18	13	69	64

Inscription	*No.*	*Date*	*Relative Frequencies of occurrence*			
			k	*g*	*k*	*g*
		A.D.				
Śikāripur	311	1100	10	2		
Śravaṇabeḷgoḷa	351	1119	12	21		
Hāsana	89	1135	4	7		
,,	65	1149	12	7		
Arasikere	117	1161	13	13		
Śikāripur	92	1168	21	5		
Honnāli	45	1175	6	1		
Cikkanāyakana-halli	35	1180	15	8		
Honnāli	38	1196	27	10	120	74
					323	272

TABLE II

SHOWING THE RELATIVE FREQUENCIES OF *k* AND *g* PHONEMES IN *Voḍḍārādhane* (EXTRACT) AND IN *Kumāravyāsa Bhārata*

	Relative Frequencies af occurrence	
	k	*g*
Voḍḍārādhane; extract published in Sahitya Parishat Patrike Vol. XXIV Oct-Dec. 1939	947	1228
Kumāravyāsa Bhārata		
Sabhāparva M.O.L.S. p. 40-47 58; 152-5	318	287
Araṇyaparva M.O.L.S. p. 25-35; 41–3	218	146
Virātaparva M.O.L.S. p. 11-4; 69-72	182	139
	718	572

M.O.L.S=Mysore Oriental Library Series, Mysore.

Observation

The relative frequency of *kh* phoneme when compared with the relative frequency of *k* is very small. In one page of *Voḍḍārādhane* the relative frequency of *kh* phoneme is zero while that of *k* is 947.

The relative frequency of occurrence of *gh* phoneme in the same extract is zero while that of *g* is 1228

In inscriptions 700-900 the relative frequency of occurrence of *g* is greater than that of *k*; but on the whole *k* exhibits greater relative frequency of occurrence than *g*. In the *Voḍḍārādhane* extract *g* exhibits greater relative frequency of occurrence. Further investigation is necessary to come to a definite conclusion regarding this behaviour of *g* phoneme.

Conclusion

The aspirated phoneme representing greater magnitude and greater degree of complexity, exhibits a lower relative frequency of occurrence. The voiceless stops are more frequent. Therefore, we may tentatively conclude that there exists an equilibrium between the magnitude or degree of complexity of a phoneme and the relative frequency of occurrence in the sense that the magnitude or degree of complexity of a phoneme bears an inverse relationship to the relative frequency of its occurrence.

ṚGVEDIC LYRICS OF LOVE AND BEAUTY

DR. P. S. SASTRI, M.A., M.LITT., PH.D.

The central theme of Ṛgvedic songs is the unravelling and exposition of Beauty, whether it is of nature, of the divinity, of the human form, or of the latent principles. The thirst for ideal beauty led them through the path of extreme ardour. In love they wanted to give an exposition of their concepts. Yamī boasting of her beauty and love approaches Yama for marriage without any regard for the moral laws of the society. Yama escapes her tyranny. Lopāmudrā finds her beauty spoiled by old age, and wants it to be restored by love. Agastya yields to the temptation. Indrāṇī boasts of her charms, and does not tolerate any tampering with her beauty. She wants to take severe action against Vṛṣākapi with the help of Indra's love. Judging from her other songs we can say she was successful. The weird nymph Ūrvaśī, the ideal beauty, refused to be limited by earthly values. Purūravas had to assume a thorough change in his outlook and temperament till he regains his ideal. In this way the Ṛgvedic poets represented the chase after and the conquest of beauty through the path of love. They realised full well that ideal beauty cannot remain in the clutches of mortals.

Beauty is the secret of nature, nature untouched by the hand of man. The main purpose of the poet is to unravel this beauty. The Vedic poets found it well represented in Savitar's golden lustre and in the fleeting rhythms and dances of Uṣas. To conceive of Uṣas as a great dancer, is in itself a mighty achievement of poetic imagination, unparalleled in the history of poetry. Though there are only a few songs (22) addressed to Uṣas, yet it is the enlivening principle of Ṛgvedic poetry. To eschew these songs, and the allusions to and the figures of speech derived from Uṣas, is to have no Ṛgveda Saṁhita. The whole text is

permeated by Uṣas and all the underlying thoughts are but revelations of the same principle.

Savitar is another deity who has given rise to eleven songs of beauty, where he is depicted as pre-eminently golden in colour and in equipment. The first is by Hiraṇyastūpa (1.35). Savitar comes through the dark firmament in his golden chariot laying to rest the mortal and the immortal, and looking at the whole universe. Borne by bright steed, he moves upwards and downwards chasing away all distress. His chariot is decked with pearls, with all colours and is carried by white footed steeds, illuminating all the right points of the earth. Gṛtsamada sees him (2.38) spreading his broad hands widely to be noticed by all men. He has checked the speed of his horses who glide like serpents (3). All the beings love him as he remains at home (6). The imagery of his march is most enthralling. The path is dark and the chariot yellow. His marches are up and down. His chariot is large, golden yet multiform and wide — ranging with columns of gold. The white footed *Śyāvas* bear the car whose forepart is of gold. Like a woman weaving a garment, the handsome Savitar covers the wide-spread darkness. (2.38.4) Vāmadeva views Savitar as the lord of life in the world, as the clear sighted deity who brings forth bliss (4.53.2). As he stretches out his arms (3), he lights all living creatures (4), and vouchsafes rest and tranquillity (6). He has opened existence, life succeeding life for the mortals (4.54.2). Śyāvāśva finds him out as a lofty intellectual (5.81.1), as a wise one (*Kaviḥ*) who assumes all forms (2) ; and through his influence the poet hopes to obtain all lovely things (5.82.6). Bharadvāja sees the stretching of hands by Savitar, which he thinks impel all living creation to activity (6.71.1). The deity is young and most skilful, and is requested to preserve the poets for the new bliss with his golden and pleasant tongue (3). Like the sacrificial priest he has lifted up his golden arms with fine limbs.

Vaśiṣṭha sees Savitar shining in golden lustre (7.38.1), whose hands extend to the ends of the skies and are golden, sublime and easy in their motion (7.45.2). The songs of the poet praise him whose tongue is pleasant, whose arms are full, and

whose hands are lovely. They praise to be blessed with high vital strength in turn (4). Vīśvāvasu observes the golden hair of Savitar (10.139.1); he moves eastward with the eternal lustre and with the rays of the sun. He sits in the centre of the heavens beholding men (2), looking with his might on every form. Like the sun he is true to duty, and like Indra he holds himself in readiness for the spoils of war (3). Arcan observes that Savitar has milked the atmospheric regions as if it were a horse (10-149.1). He is related to *Apām Napāt*, and causes the sea which, being firmly fixed in the firmament, abundantly wets the earth (2). Here the sea is the sea of light, of immortality. He invokes Savitar to come to the earth with all his blessings in the beautiful and lively lines :

> " *gāva iva grāmam yūyudhir ivōśvān*
> *vāśreva vatsam sumanā duhānā*
> *patir iva jāyām abhi no nyetu*
> *dhartā divaḥ savitā viśva vāraḥ.* "

Like cattle that graze in the forests hasten to the village, like a warrior who speeds his horses in war, like an affectionate cow that approaches its calf with bellowing tones, and like a husband who hastens to his wife in all eagerness, so is the deity Savitar requested to come.

The famous song to Rātrī (10.27), is one of the gems of Ṛgvedic poetry, full of beauty and the weird magic of mystery. It is short, but in such a small space the poet shows us the varied aspects of the poetic imagination. Keen and acute observation, sincere experience, and a ripe feeling and imagination characterise the song. Wearing all her glories Rātri comes forth looking with all her eyes (1). She is immortal and fills the wastes, heights and depths. With her lustre she tortures darkness (2). As she moves away she places her sister, Uṣas, in the same duty, at which darkness will be laughed at—" *aped u hāsate tamaḥ* " (3). People visit the paths of nights, as birds do their nests upon the tree :

> " *ni te yāmann avikṣmahi*
> *Vṛkṣena vasatim vayaḥ* " (10.127.4).

Here the comparision is very apt, as one only visits the abode of rest where he can never be active. The villagers, animals, birds and hawks have all sought their abodes as people desirous of wealth—that is, happiness (5). As all beings desire to have rest now, the poet wishes the goddess to let him have an easy way through. Then follows the beautiful verse :

> " *Upamā papiśat tamaḥ*
> *Kṛṣṇam vyaktam asthita*
> *uṣa ṛṇeva yātaya.*"

She has approached us decking the darkness to make it manifest. So she has to remove darkness as if it were a debt. This is a daring venture in the imaginative realm, but it is accomplished with a bold certainty of effect. The song concludes with an offering of the verses, which the poet has brought to her like cows. This child of heaven has to accept the song as a conqueror. This is the song of Rātrī, the sister of dawn, singing the music of the spheres.

The hymns of Uṣas, show us the poetic rivalries clearly. The seers vie with each other in their metaphors and similes. There are on the whole twenty-two songs dealing with the dawn, of a highly imitative character both in sentiment and in diction. She is the daughter of the skies, wife, sister and mother of the sun, a great awakener of mankind both spiritually and physically, a good matron and a jovial dancer, a dispeller of darkness and of gloom, the embodiment of youth and of the ideal love, and the true representative of beauty, seen and unseen, in the universe.

Of these songs, two carry the burthen of the song in a rhythmic way (1.113, 5.79) in the true manner of a lyric that is set for dancing. The second triplet of 1.113 has the beautiful refrain, "*uṣa ajīgav bhuvanāni viśvā*"—'the dawn has awakened all the living creatures.' The first triplet of the other has, "*Satya-śravasi vāyye sujāte aśvasūnṛte*" and the rest of the hymn has only "*sujāte aśvasūnṛte*"— but the real refrain is only the latter. "Highborn, generous (delightfull) with steeds." The absence of refrains in the songs addressed to Uṣas, considering the immense wealth of imagery that is repeated and imitated here

with a rare skill of freshness, forces us to conclude that they represent a highly advanced state of poetic development. It is not in these two songs alone that the higher lyrical tone is found, but elsewhere in others also. Once more it makes certain that a refrain is unwanted in a highly poetic song.

The Dawns are invoked in the hymn 1.92 which employs three sets of metres—*Jagatī*, *Triṣṭubh* and *Uṣṇih*; since the first two are but the variations of the same, the first twelve stanzas constitute one metrical unit. Here is a beautiful and glowing poetic imagery running riot in the veins of the poet. The 'sensations sweet' that are 'felt in the heart and along the blood' are expressed in melodious sounds that reflect the inner content translucently. The dawns have raised their banners and spread abroad their shining lights in the eastern half. These mother cows (*gāvo mātaraḥ*)— probably the yielding or shaping lustres—come forth brightly in red colours, like heroes who prepare their weapons. The purple beams of light have shot up suddenly, and they have harnessed the rest of the cows that are easy to be yoked. In effulgent lustre they have brought distinct perception as before. They even sing their songs like active women engaged in works as they march. Then follows the most lovely verse:

> 4. "*adhi peśānsi vapate nṛtūr ivā-*
> *porpute vakṣa usreva barjaham*
> *jyotir viśvasmai bhuvanāya kṛṇvatī*
> *gāvo na vrajam vyuṣā āvar tamaḥ.*"

'She puts on her beautifully decorated garments like a dancer. She lays bare her breast as a cow does its udder. She has enveloped darkness creating light for the universe, as the cows do the stall.' She even pains (*bādhate*) darkness, and has attained her wonderful effulgence like tints that deck the sacrificial post. The universe has crossed the darkness and she smiles with a beautiful face in light for glory like a flatterer. She is the leader of the charming pleasant voices that are heard at day-break. This auspicious lady shines bending her looks on all the world and spreading westward with her bright eye. She is ancient (*purāṇī*), but born again and again and decks her body with that

selfsame dress. Just as a hunter makes a short cut of the lives of fowls and birds, so do the dawns swallow the days of men (*Jarayantī*), make us old, as every coming dawn brings the news that a day of our life is over. She shines discovering the frontiers of the heavens and driving off her sister, darkness. This sportive lady (*Yoṣā*) shines with all her lover's (*jarasya*) splendour diminishing our days of existence. She extends her rays like kine and shines as a flood that rolls the waters. This radiant mover of sweet sounds yoking the purple steeds to her car brings felicity.

The hymn 1.113 has more of the enthusiastic and hilarious strain that is jubilant in many a rapture when a mysterious beauty enchants and envelops the person. It opens with an exhortation to the fellow beings:

> " *idam śreṣṭham jyotiṣām jyotir ā gāc*
> *citraḥ praketo ajaniṣṭha vibhvā*
> *yathā prasūta savituḥ savāyañ*
> *evā rātryuṣase yonim āraik.*"

'This light which is the best amidst all lights has come. This brilliant and far extending brightness is born. Night has given birth to these dawns? This white lady (*ruśatī*) has come with her lustrous offspring (*ruśadvatsā*) as the dark one has given up her abode. These dawns form a fraternity, are immortal, follow each other, and change the colours. The way of these sisters is common and unending, and they wander by turns commanded by the gods. With different hues but with one mind these fair ones neither quarrel, nor tarry. The very eyes of the poets behold her, the illuminating leader of pleasant sounds, as she has enclosed the portals in splendid colours. She stirs up the world, awakens every living creature and sets him up to his own activity. Then follows a lovely description of this immortal youth.

This daughter of the heavens, this visible young maiden flushes in her shining robes—We see her there. She is the first of the endless morns that have yet to come, and takes up the path of dawns that have left us. As soon as she rises she impels the

animate, but not him who is dead in his slumber. In ecstasy the poet asks:

> 10. " *Kiyāty ā yat samayābhavāti*
> *yā vyūṣur yāś ca nūnam vyuchān*
> *anu pūrvāḥ kṛpate vāsaśānā*
> *pradīdhyānā joṣam anyābhir eti.*"

'For how long a time the dawns will come, and when will the future dawns unite themselves with the past ones? This gladly shining dawn yearns with eager longing for former ones and marches onwards with her associates.' A touch of pathos suddenly creeps in with the idea of the past:

> 11. " *Iyuṣ ṭe ye pūrvatayām apaśyan*
> *Vyucchantīm uṣasām nartyāsaḥ*
> *asmābhir ū nu praticakṣyā bhūd*
> *o te yanti ye aparīṣu paśyān.*"

'Those who looked at the rising of former dawns in days of yore have left us. We of the present, behold her lustre. Those who shall see her in future are in the neighbourhood. She chases the foes, protects the law, gives joy and awakens pleasant sounds.'

> 13. " *Śaśvat puroṣā vy uvāsa devy*
> *atho adyedam y vyavo maghonī*
> *atho vyucchād uttarān anudyūn*
> *ajarāmṛtā carati suadhābhiḥ.*"

'She has shone from eternity, and still shows us the light today. So will she shine in days to come being immortal and eternally young? In splendour she has shone in the skirts of the skies, throwing off the veil of darkness and awakening (*prabodhayanti*) the universe with her purple steeds. She is fleeting and hence is the last of the innumerable dawns that have disappeared, but is the first of the bright ones to come. The poet exhorts:

> 16. " *ud īrdhvam jīvo asur no āgād*
> *apa prāgāt tama ā jyotir eti*
> *āraik panthām yātave sūryāya*
> *aganma yatra pratiranta āyuḥ.*"

'Arise, spirit and life have come to us again; darkness has passed away; light has come. She has paved the way for the sun to march. We have come to a place where we can prolong existence.' A new vitality has enveloped the entire universe. The concluding verses fall down to the purely earthly level of economic delight and seem to have been latter additions.

The next hymn of Uṣas, 1.123, partakes of all the images and the ideas of the previous hymns with a few additions. The very opening verse arrests the attention of the reader or the hearer, as is usual with all the songs of Uṣas. She is termed *dakṣiṇā*; which despite the controversy between Max Müller, Abel Bergaigne, Bloomfield and others, simply means "loveable, generous." The wide chariot of the loveable one has been harnessed and the immortal gods have ascended it. Noble and active Uṣas has emerged from darkness to bring light to the mortals. And the movement of day and night is beautifully depicted as:

7. "*apānyad e ty abhy anyad eti*
viṣurūpe ahanī sam carete
Parikṣ; tos tam anyā guhākar
adyaui uṣāh śośucatā rathena."

'The one departs and the other comes. They are opposed in their colour, but march in succession. One hides the gloom that has enveloped the parents, the earth and the heaven. Uṣas is effulgent on her lustrous chariot.' The dawns have the same form any day and wander thirty *yojanas* and dart across the spirit in a moment. She has knowledge of the first day's venture. This maiden daily comes to the appointed place and does not, therefore, break the law of order. And here follows a poetic address:

10. "*Kanyeva tanvā śāśadānān*
eṣt devi devam iyakṣamāṇam
samsmayamānā yavatiḥ purastād
āvir vakṣānsi kṛṇuṣe vithātī."

'You go in pride of beauty like a maid to the God who longs to have thee, and you discover your bosom before him smiling, youthful and shining brightly.'

11. " *susumkāśā māṭmṛṣṭeve yoṣā*
āvis tanvam kṛṇuṣe dṛsekam
bhadrā tvam uṣo vitaram vy ucha
na tat te anyā uṣaso naśanta."

'You exhibit your form like a bride decorated well by her mother so that all may see.' She is blessed and shines far and wide; and there is none so far to surpass her. She departs and comes again assuming her usual forms.

The idea of diminishing the duration of life comes again in the opening verses of 1.124 addressed to Uṣas. Here we go a step farther along with the poet, though there is much of imitation. But the poet has made it original.

4. " *Upo adarśi śundhyavo na vakṣo*
nodhā ivāvir akṛta priyāṇi
admasan na sasato bodhayantī
śaśvattamāgāt punar eyuṣīṇām."

'She is seen near like the bosom of a fair lady. Like a songster that sings a new song she shows sweetest things. She comes like a fly waking up the sleepers. Of all the returning ladies—that is, the dawns she is the truest and the most constant one.' In the eastern part of the watery regions this mother of the rays (cows) has shown her ensign. She spreads and spreads far and wide and occupies the complete lap of her parents. She is brightly shining, is proud of her unstained Beauty, and is most impartial to all. Then follows the famous stanza.

7. " *aphrāteva pumsa sti pratīcī*
gartary iva sanaye dhanānām
gāyeva pasya uśatī suvāsā
uṣē hasreva niriṇite apsaḥ."

'She seeks men as a lady who has no brother, ascending her chariot as it were to gather riches? This is the reputed reference to the courtesan in the Ṛgveda whose original was Uṣas. With the smiles and beautiful robes she unmasks her beauty like a loving matron for her lover. The alternating movements of night and day are again tagged on to this hymn, and are treated as sisters. Shining with beautiful rays, she decks her beauty, like

women trooping to the festive gathering. This young eastern maid harnesses her team of bright red oxen (rays) and shines; the light will hasten hither.

The hymn of Viśvāmitra invoking Uṣas (3.61) slightly differs from the above in that this is more sportive and hilarious and has little of the weighty imagery. It is purely lyrical with many a pointed epithet suggestive of a very rare and keen imagination. She is pictured as strong (*vajinī*), wise (*pracetaḥ*), ancient (*purāṇī*), but young (*yuvatiḥ*), and lustrous. And the poet exhorts: "Sing forth, thou auspicious goddess, Dawn, with the pleasant chariot awaking pleasing sounds." She is the ensign of the Immortal (*amṛtasya ketuḥ*), moving eternally to the same goal. This new one must roll towards him like a wheel. This lady of the dwelling radiantly lets loose her reins and brings forth light, being awakened by the hymners.

Vāmadeva's hymns to Uṣas take again a semi-lyrical, but a highly poetical tone (4.51,52). The first of these hymns opens with an actual experience, and the keen observation has sent the rapturous notes.

> "*Idam u tyat purutamam purastāj*
> *jyotis tamaso vayunāvasdasthāt.*
> *nūnam divo duhitaro vibhātīr*
> *gātum kṛṇavannuṣaso janāya.*"

From darkness this most profuse and effulgent light has come forth in the eastern regions. The idea of liberality, of wealth that comes in the second half persists in a few more verses here. These richly coloured dawns have ascended the east like the posts planted in the sacrifices. The gateways of the folds of darkness (*vrajsya tamaso*) are enveloped by these lights. In the lyrical manner the poet asks them about their chariot whether it was new, with which they befriended many a poet of yore (4). And proceeding further, he is eager to know the eldest of them. But he reconciles himself by saying that whenever they go out wandering, they are never known to be parting or to have parted:

6. "*Kvasvid āsām katamā purāṇi*
yayā vidhānā vidadhur ṛbhūṇām
śupham yac chubhrā uṣasas caranti
navi jnāyante sadṛśīr ajuryāḥ."

The dawns of the ancient times are really the blessed ones (*bhadrā*). All these travel at the same time from east, and spread themselves in the same manner throughout. From the seat of Ṛta they approach us like herds of cattle. With undiminished colour (*amīta varṇā*) these similar ones march forth and hide the inhuman powers of darkness with bright, shining, pure and radiant forms.

This giver of delight shines forth after her sisters and shows herself having the colour of a red mare. The eyes of the poets behold her blessed rays like troops of cattle that were let loose to gaze upon pastures:

5. "*prati bhadrā adṛkṣata*
gavām sargāna raśmayaḥ."

There are two hymns by Satyaśravas (5.79,80) addressing the dawns. The first is in *Pankti* metre which is highly suited for beautiful rhythm and balanced cadence, which are required in dance. Further it has the burthen "*sujāte aśva sūnṛte*"' and refrains are a common and enlivening feature of many a song that is set to dance. All the stanzas here, excepting the ninth are, from a purely poetical point of view, simply worthless. It has, no doubt an enticing music, but it is imbedded in purely materialistic terms that do not rise up to the lofty levels. The ninth verse has the touch of pathos, sincerity and eager longing, as if Uṣas were a member of the poet's intimate circle of friends and relations:

"*nat tvā stenam yathā ripum*
tapāti sūro arciṣā sujāte aśvasūnṛte."

She has already stayed long over the eastern skies, and it is time for the sun to come up and displace her. And then she will exist no more. A lovelorn female stood before her lover Jupiter and wanted to see him in his real effulgence, in his lustre she was

consumed and thereafter the 'hapless female' lived in the memory of the poets alone. It is the same fate that will await Uṣas were she to tarry till the sun, her lover, comes up. So the poet with a deep feeling of compassion speaks: "let not the Sun with fervent heat consume thee like a thief." He cannot afford to see such a glorious and lovely piece of beauty, of nature, sink into oblivion in an ignominious way. The sun is after all a thief, one who approaches her stealthily simply to stain her modesty, chastity and beauty. He is more or less a *jāra* as she is a *jāriṇī*, at times.

The next hymn of Satyaśravas (5.80) is a piece of pure poetry that exalts us with its melody, imagery and thought to sublime heights. The sound of the very opening verse arrests us and we are forced to picture at heart, to ourselves, that lofty phenomenon:

> " *dyutadyāmānam bṛhatīm ṛtena*
> *ritāvarīm aruṇapsum vibhātīm*
> *devīm uṣasam svar ā vahantīm*
> *prati Viprāsomatibhir jarante.*"

She is sublime, red tinted and refulgent, brings in light and is true to the eternal laws of the world. She comes before the Sun beautifully, awakens the mortals, and from her lofty chariot on high she bequeaths the splendours at the beginning of the day. She shines in double splendour with changing hues, and reveals her body from the east:

> 4. " *Eṣa vyemī bdavati dvibarehā*
> *ā viṣ kṛṇvānā tanvam purastāt.*"

In the dews of heavens her limbs take a bath, and the lustrous hues of the dawns, that are seen through moisture, which act evidently as a glossy net, are simply charming:

> 5. " *Eṣā śubhrā na tanvo vidānā*
> *ūrdhveva snātī dṛśaye no asthāt.*"

She is fully aware that her limbs are lustrous after that frosty bath; and stands erect so that men may look at her. She

inflicts punishment, torture (*bādhamānā*) on darkness and brings us light. The whole song ends with the happy verse :

6. " *Eṣā pratīcī duhitā divo nṛn*
Yoṣeva bhadrā ni riṇīte apsaḥ."

Standing before mortals this daughter of the heavens bends low her forehead like a *yoṣā*, a lusty woman, as Geldner and Pischel would have it.

There are two hymns by Bharadvāja (6.64,65) having a smack of the poetic glow, which is to a certain extent disfigured by the stereotyped refrain-like lines and verses that have nothing but riches to speak of. As usual the song opens with the rising of the dawns in their white splendour like the waves of waters. Adorning herself, she lays bare her bosom, shining in splendour. The cows (rays) that carry her are red and luminous and extend themselves widely. Like a valiant archer she pursues the foe, and like a swift warrior she dispels darkness. As in the second verse, so in the fourth the poet comes back to direct address and goes on to say : " Thy ways are easy as the hills : Thou passest invincible, self-luminous through waters." Now the poet steps down to the material levels as he asks this lofty goddess to bring him riches. She has even shown herself lovely through generosity when they invited her early.

The next song has a better twist and a noble way of exploiting beauty. Shedding her light on human habitations, this child of Heaven has called us from slumber. In the night even through the shades of darkness she has shown herself with lustre. Her ruddy rays that act as steeds have divided light from darkness. On the delightful cars the dawns shine wondrous and torture well the waves of darkness. They come with imperial sway like heroes and bring the needs of men along with them. The poet grows ecstatic and is unable to speak coherently in the height of emotion. So he utters : "now is there treasure for the man who worships you, now for the hero who brings offerings, now for the wise man when he sings. Even to one like me you brought as you did in days of yore." As she stands on the slopes of the hills, Angirasas praise her cows (rays of

light). With prayer and holy song they burst the stalls open, and the invitation to the Gods by mortals has become truthful. The dawns have actually made their appearance felt by one and all. As usual the refrain content, requesting riches completes the song.

Vaśiṣṭha has composed seven songs (7.75-81) in honour of Uṣas, and they are the best in the *maṇḍala*. She is born in the heavens, and has flushed manifesting her majesty by Ṛta. She has to rouse and awaken the poets to happiness and felicity. Her everlasting splendours are lovely and bright with a variety of colours. She is the spouse of Sūrya, carried by the steeds of manifold colours. She brought forth light true and mighty to her nature, and made the whole universe apparent. The banner of the dawns has been hoisted eastwards and they come over the tops of the houses. And here follows the lovely verse:

> 3. " *Tānīd ahāni bahutāny āsan*
> *yā prācīnam uditā sūryasya*
> *yataḥ pari jāra ivācaranty*
> *uṣo dadṛkṭe na punar yatīva.*" (7.76.3).

The movement of dawns appeared as if she were moving towards her lover; but not like a lady who deserts her lover. The lover is, of course, the Sun. It is the seers and fathers of old that found the light lying in darkness, and with true and deep thought they generated her. Dawn and night meet together in the same enclosure, they do not shine with one another. They are of one mind. Yet it is the dawns that bring sweet charm of voices.

The poet begins the next hymn (7.77) with the beautiful and amorous words that have a fine touch of ethereality:

> "*upo rurace yuvatir na yoṣā*
> *Viśvam jīvam prasuvantī carāyai.*"

She has shone like a youthful woman instigating every living being to activity while Agni has come to feed on the fuel of the mortals, she chased away the darkness and made light. She spreads far and wide, shining in brightness with white robes, beaming forth lovely with golden colours and guiding the days. She carries the eye of the Gods and leads her fair white horse.

The kindled fire sings aloud greeting her, and the inspired ones praise her with loving thoughts and with their minds. She has brought forth the Sun, the sacrifice and Agni, while the unpleasant darkness fled far away. She has sent her lustre forth with beauteous oxen, painting her bright rays on the ends of skies, and comes like tribes arrayed for battle. She sends charming pleasant voices, and vouchsafes thoughts for the poets.

She gives fresh life hiding darkness, awakens with new born lustre and manifests all the living creatures. Youthful she comes forward unrestrained:

"*agra eti yavatir ahrayāṇā.*"

This is another famous reference to the courtezans in Ṛgveda as Pischel and Gelder would have it. She advances and uncovers the great darkness, so that we can see. The poets yearn to belong to her, to be her sons.

Samvarta's small song of Uṣas (10.172) only requests her to come with all her beauty, and with kind thoughts driving away her sister's (night's) gloom.

Reviewing all these, one finds out that the dawns are compared to warriors (*dhṛṣṇavaḥ*), to women who are diligent in their work (*nārīḥ*), to the waves of the waters (*apām na ūrmayaḥ*), to the sacrificial posts (*adhvareṣu svaravaḥ*), to a group of cows (*gavām na sargāḥ*), and so on. They are even called the cows. Uṣas figures as the mother of the lustrous god, the various forms of the Sun, and of time. She shines as if immortality has taken the form of such an angel. She did not appear to the poets as a mere phenomenon of nature, but as a truth pregnant with profound significance and thought. The Infinite seems to have appointed the dawns to figure as the Mother and as the gateway of heavenly effulgence. This Uṣas has made their brains speculative and held a permanent impress. Caitanya seemed to dance in this manner. A veritable feast to the eyes is provided by the eternal freshness and lustre of the dawns. In the immortal gateway of the heavens, she peeps and sprinkles golden jewels all over the universe, and seems as if she were receiving all animate

and inanimate creation as her guests. Above the mountains, far away from the clouds, Uṣas is fleeting with the waves and is heralding the Sun by preparing a way for him. The gates of the Infinite are thrown open and the poets looked at them as if they were young children gathering pebbles at the shore of the sea of Immortality.

YEARLY RECORDS OF THE MISSION OF CARUAR*

(Fathers of the Discalced Carmelites)

Written by Father P. F. Francis Xavier of St. Anne
Translated by S. SILVA

Chapter XXI : The Year 1800

Note I. In this chapter begins the history of those events, in which I, Father Francis Xavier of St. Anne who wrote this, have played a great part, events which happened at my time or by my exertion, or under my eyes ; therefore, if I shall use a bit rather diffused style in narrating them, I hope that my brother readers will forgive me.

Note II. When speaking of myself I have judged it better to use not the third grammatical person but the personal pronoun of the first person, I, of me, to me, etc. lest I might seem to write of another and not of myself. Therefore, in very few words I shall give here just once news of myself in order that the reader may know who I am. I, Father Francis Xavier of St. Anne, an Italian from Geneva, born from the family of " Pescctti," for the great favour of God and of the Blessed Virgin admitted into the Order of Carmelites Ecaled in Geneva in 1789. Afterwards in March 1798, being declared in Rome by the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda Fide, a Missionary Apostolic, for the Moughal of Vicariate Apostolic, I came to India through Syria, Mesapotamia, Chaldea, Arabia and I landed in Bombay on the twenty-second of August 1799, twenty-eighth year three months and twenty-eight days old.

After the death of the 'tyrant' Tīppu Sultān, D. Peter de Alcantara of St. Antony, Bishop of Autifally and Vicar Apostolic of the Moughal devoted himself to the restoration of this our

*Continued from Volume XLIX page 194.

Mission, to which pious work the Congregation of Propaganda Fide had urged him repeatedly through its letters, no less than his predecessor D. Victor of St. Maria in the past years when it was impossible to put it in execution. Therefore, in the beginning of the year 1800, the aforesaid D. Peter of Alcantara sent me from Bombay, where I was then staying, to re-establish this Mission of Caruar.

From Bombay I sailed to Goa thinking that I would reach from there more conveniently and more easily. But my hopes were frustrated. For that old serpent was hostile to this pious work and was striving lest the said "church dedicated to that Immaculate Virgin" which crushed his proud head might be rebuilt and lest spiritual help might be brought to the Christians of this Mission, of which they were very much in want. So many and so great oppositions came in my way in Goa that it was not permitted to me to set out from there to this Mission. Those oppositions sprang from a two-fold source, *i.e.* from the vain suspicion of the English and from the loathsome spite of the Portuguese against the apostolic missionaries. For, at first, since I needed the English passport to enter into English territories I had to obtain it from the English Ambassador residing in Goa to whom I was completely unknown. As he was a very suspicious man, he feared that under the habit of the missionary, come recently into India, a Frenchman might be hidden and spy. And this empty fear was increased because the robbers of these provinces were not altogether conquered, and not far from here in the Mediterranean[25] regions still a small band from the remnants of the army of the Sultān conquered and killed, which had not yet given up the arms. Hence he was afraid that under the religious habit I might be some military man sent secretly to give help and advice to all those against the English power which, as most recent, it seemed not yet sufficiently strong. Troubled with these suspicions the Ambassador was hesitating whether to give me passport. But the spite of the

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25. This is not the Mediterranean Sea but the inland regions where Tippu's forces still held out.

Portuguese took away all his hesitations. To every body it is well known their hatred against the Gospel workers, who were sent to India by the Apostolic Su without consulting the Portuguese king. The Viceroy or Governor of Goa endowed with truly a noble and liberal education and endowed with piety very rare in the Portuguese Goans not only received me with great kindness, but also having known the reason of my journey granted me his favour and help many times. But, this his good-will, could not be long; for, the Portuguese chiefs whispered into the Governor's ears so many things against me, an Italian religious, not a Portuguese, that he, though he kept towards me always the same kindness in the matter of the mission, he became my strong enemy. He it was who by the mouth of his chiefs whispering very many things to the English Ambassador induced him not only to deny the passport which I had requested, but besides to forbid me expressly to enter Caruar. Hence the business became unsuccessful and I returned to Bombay. Nevertheless, yielding both to the manifest truth and to my flattering and sagacious words, he gave me the declaration requested by me, the tenor of which is this:—"We certify that the Mission of Caruar and Sunkery was always administered by the religious Carmelites Discalced of Propaganda Fide, subject to the very Reverend Vicar Apostolic.........we have no objection that these Christians should be instructed in the Catholic religion by the same ministers of Propaganda Fide, Discalced Carmelites......Given at the Palace of the Primate's Su of Goa on 24th February 1800.

(Sd.) F. EMMANUEL of Santa Catherina
Archbishop and Primate of the East"

Everyone who knows the nature of the Portuguese and what and how great wars were endured and are endured incessantly from them by the Apostolic Missionaries will not cease to wonder regarding this document when however they will see that this document was the reason by which I succeeded to obtain more easily the restoration of this Mission, they will praise the most wise Providence of God, which sometimes gives no salvation through our enemies. In this same year 1800, no Missionary existing here, a

certain Goan priest by name Rev. Cajitan Xavier Gomes, who had been sent to the Mission of Ancola, neighbouring our own, by the Goan Archbishop, twice passed through this our Caruar Mission and having erected a small altar in some private house of a Christian, celebrated mass there several times and solemnly administered the sacrament of Baptism on some infants not in danger of death, and finally he blessed all the little homes of the Christians, as it is done at Easter, but did not hear confessions nor blessed marriages. After I came here I talked to the aforesaid priest many times and I asked him with what authority he had done it. He replied to me that he had consulted his Archbishop regarding it before he visited this mission and that he had done according to his order. But with his leave I say that the priest demanded from me rather a difficult trust to his words. For, it exceeded my belief, that the Goan Archbishop had given such a reply to him; the Archbishop, I say, who had given me most recently the aforesaid declaration written with his own hand. I knew, besides, very well the nature of the indigenous priests, chiefly Goan; they ask with great zeal what is their own, they make light of the ecclesiastical regulations as often as it is question of gain; and it was question then of few offerings collected on the occasion either of baptisms or of the blessing of houses; although it was very little however, it was suffice to entice him.

Chapter XXII: 1801.

Having encountered for the restoration of this Mission difficulties and oppositions, we, the Vicar Apostolic and I, did not lose heart for that, nor desisted from the work begun. But because of many and long infirmities and being attacked by a disease for the space of many months, willy nilly I had to wait till the year 1801; at the beginning of which I left Bombay, God helping to reach Sunkery. To reach it I did not journey to Goa, as in the previous year lest the Portuguese put me new impediments but altogether by another route. I sailed from Bombay for Malabar and then having changed my course so that going by the coastal shore would reach Anjediva; a long way indeed, but necessary. I say a necessary way, because thus alone the Portuguese could be

avoided and the English passport could be secured. For, since, in order to enter this territory chiefly after the English Ambassador staying in Goa had prohibited it to me expressly. I needed a more express permission of those who governed the provinces themselves, and since they were many and not staying in the place, therefore, each one had to be approached in the different places of the coastal shore, I approached them in fact and I secured the desired permission however, with some little difficulty; for the Viceroy or the Goan Governor, at the request of his Archbishop had written with ardent zeal to all the English Governors and Prefects not to admit any priest of the Christian religion in the provinces lately subjugated by English, except those whom the Goan Archbishop would send, because he was saying, all those provinces are from the beginning under the Diocese of Goa or at least under the metropolitan jurisdiction. A certain D. Alexander Read who was then the immediate head of these provinces confessed clearly to me these things. At that time the English had made a treaty with the Portuguese against the French and, therefore, they were unwilling to offend them in anything, much less in matters of Church jurisdiction, which is ignored or despised by the English heretics. For this reason when they knew that I was going to Caruar with Apostolic, not Portuguese authority, they were hesitating at my request. However, I easily overcame their hesitation, by producing the aforesaid attestation of the Goan Archbishop. After having seen it they not only granted me willingly what I asked, but moreover with a letter they expressly commanded the inferior official of this province whom they call in the vernacular Ameldar or Subedar to help me in all things which I would ask.

Thus having obtained the permission I reached Anjediva on the twenty-second of March, desiring and hoping that I would celebrate here the Holy Easter which was close at hand; but I was compelled to put off the beginning of my mission till the twenty-fourth of April; both because there was no house here nor shelter in which I might dwell and perform the sacred rites, and chiefly on account of the new obstacles of the Portuguese. For since I knew well that in Anjediva Rev. Father Emmanuel

Lawrence Mendes was keeping the sacred vessels and sacerdotal vestments, which with many other things had been deposited there by the fleeting Father Sebastian Fernandes in the year 1784; for this reason leaving Bombay I carried nothing with me of these things required for the sacred functions, thinking without any doubt that I would take them from Anjediva. But I was mistaken in this. As soon as I reached Anjediva, Rev. Father Mendes announced to me that in the past year at that very time in which the Portuguese through the English Ambassador had opposed me in Goa, the Goan Viceroy through the Prefect of Anjediva by force had exacted from him the fullest list of all those goods of this Mission which were in his possession and that with much threatening had commanded him not to give back those goods to any person until he would command otherwise. Soon also the Prefect himself of Anjediva announced these things to him, adding besides, that the Viceroy by a letter had forbidden him strongly lest he would allow anyone to bring away those things from that island. In what way that Goan Viceroy had come to know of our things deposited in Anjediva I do not know at all: only by conjecture I think that he heard it from some of the Goan Semi-Carmelites. What he intended by sequestrating those things it is easy to understand: he wanted to put every obstacle in his power lest this Mission might be re-established; for he was a Portuguese and had at his side Portuguese advisors; and in order that this may be known more clearly than broad day-light these things which I add must be considered.

At the same time, under the same persecution, by the same provinces, in the same houses of Anjediva, with the same Rev. Mendes, innumerable other treasures and riches, other almost immense goods had been deposited both by some Christians of Canara and indeed chiefly by pagans. Peace being restored through the victories of the English, no one of those goods found even the least obstacle or difficulty from the Portuguese in being given back to their respective owners, not the goods of other churches, not the goods of pagans and of profane temples; all these asked their own deposited goods and at once received them, the Portuguese Viceroy knowing this and not opposing in

any way. This Mission alone, as being of Apostolic Missionaries, cannot receive back its own things, to this Mission alone its own belongings are desired, to this Mission alone the Portuguese are opposed. Please see, my brother reader, see the iniquity, see the injustice, see the spite of the Portuguese, see the worst wound of wickedness inflicted in their hearts by the devil. An incurable wound, an inextinguishable spite, an interminable infamy. Behold the mind of the Portuguese towards the Roman ministers; in their hearts we are of a worst kind than the pagans, than the temples themselves. If till now you have not known the Portuguese, know them all from this crime.

In this state of things I sent a letter from Anjediva to the Goan Viceroy requesting that he might revoke the sequestration by which he had ordered our goods to be detained, that the glory of the Most High God should not be delayed in the restoration of this Mission. He did not write back to me even a word in reply. But to him who conveyed my letter he replied that he would never restore these goods unless the English Governors asked for them. In the meanwhile he himself was openly saying that it would never be that these goods should be restored to the Carmelites and I would never enter the Caruar Mission to restore it. Lest this prophecy of his should prove to be an empty one, he as much as he could from his part, added all the impediments to this my entry. He wrote a fresh letter to the Anjedivian Prefect, in which he ordered not only more sternly those very things, which in the previous year he had already ordered, but by a very strict injunction forbade the same Prefect to allow absolutely any one to come with me from Anjediva or to accompany me, not even a boy-servant or even a boy; to allow me to leave the place in some Anjedivian boat or with Anjedivian sailors; to consent in any way that either the Anjedivian Parish Priest or anybody from among the Anjedivian inhabitants should supply me with anything necessary for the sacred functions. Although the Anjedivian Prefect both recognised the iniquity of these injunctions and confessed it openly, yet out of pussilanimity and impelled by fear, he carried out all these things rigorously.

Hereafter, therefore, sorrow-stricken, yet not in the least crushed in spirit, I decided that all delay should be cut short, and my mission to be commenced at once according to my power lest by delaying our enemies should gather forces for laying to us new snares. All things, therefore, necessary for celebrating mass I sought most secretly, and found with some, who lent them to me. with all that I left Anjediva on the thirteenth of April, and on the same day reached Sunkery without companion, without servant, without possibility of talking, without the interpreter, without the necessaries of life. Here I was received in a very small house the walls of which were most awkwardly built up of earth and the roof thatched out of hay. I found a shed prepared from reeds which they call "Bambo" and from branches of cocoanut trees and beneath it a small altar built of rough stones and earth covered on the surface with polished limestone in such a way that, as far as it could be done there, it could be used decently for the Holy Sacrifice. I had ordered this small house and the shed to be made at our expense in this our palm grove so that I might both live here somehow and assemble the people for the religious functions.

In this little Church or shed, the next day, *i.e.* the fourteenth of April, I myself read the letters patent, by which I might be recognised as the lawful Missionary, all the christians who were then inhabiting this Mission, being present. Afterwards I said mass to the general joy and exultation of all and at the end sang the Ambrosian hymn "*Te Denm Laudamus*" in thanksgiving and thus I began my Mission. The fourteenth of April 1801 is, therefore, the day of the restoration of this Mission, a day to be marked with a white stone, a day to be recalled with annual solemnity. Here in passing, a little similarity is to be observed between the first foundation of this Mission and the present restoration. For it was first founded by Father F. John Baptist Maria, a Genoese; it has been restored by me a Genoese too; it was founded in the month of April after ninety-two years. It was founded with the favour of the English, then masters of the place "*Totti,*" it has been restored by the favour of the same English masters of the whole territory. Finally it was founded with the Portuguese persecuting

our Missionaries, it has been restored with the Portuguese persecuting me.

As soon as I became the possessor of this Mission, I informed the Vicar Apostolic about the policy of the Goan Viceroy towards me and our goods deposited in Anjediva. The Vicar Apostolic wrote to the Viceroy about these goods to be restored to me; but he did not even reply a word; for he was covered with shame and great confusion seeing his prophecy against the restoration of this Mission to have proved absolutely in vain. In the meanwhile I had asked by letters the English Prefect of this province that by his intervention those goods placed against unjust sequestration might be returned to me. He wrote back to me favourably sending another letter to be presented to the Anjedivian Prefect, in which he was requesting for the restitution of these things. But I thought it futile to show this letter to Anjedivian Prefect on account of the contrary injunction of the Viceroy. So I took care that it should be given to the Viceroy himself. There at least wishing to get out of a useless opposition, but unwilling all the same to appear humble, and forced by yielding he wanted to get the favour of the Vicar Apostolic; remembering the letter, to which he had not replied anything so far, he replied on this occasion, and together sent an order to the Anjedivian Prefect to release our goods. Thus forty-six days after I had begun this Mission, *i. e.* on the thirtieth of May I brought hither all our things from Anjediva. Thereafter I suffered no more trouble from the Portuguese in regard to this our Mission.

(*To be continued*)

CHICKAVEERA RAJENDRA WADEYAR, THE LAST RAJAH OF COORG.

D. N. Krishnayya, M.A., B.ED.

Coorg which is now one of the nineteen districts of the reorganised State of Mysore had an independent existence from the eleventh century A. D. to the date of the reorganisation of States. Coorg is a picturesque highland country, situated on the summits and slopes of the Western Ghauts, and lying between 11° 56′ and 12° 50′ N and 75° 22′ and 76° 12′ E. Its area is 1589 square miles. The highlands of Coorg, excluding the peaks of hills, range from 2720 feet to about 3800 feet above the sea level and enjoy a cool and bracing climate.

From the eleventh century Coorg was ruled by its own dynasties of kings. The last dynasty, the Haleri dynasty of princes ruled Coorg from about 1600 to 1834 when the British deposed Veera Rājēndra Wadeyar and annexed Coorg to their dominions. The sad story of the deposition of Veera Rājēndra Wadeyar from the principality of Coorg is narrated below.

Chicka Veera Rājēndra Wadeyar, the last Rājah of Coorg was the ill-fated prince of the Haleri dynasty of Coorg who lost his throne and his kingdom on account of the greed of the East India Company to annex Coorg to its existing dominions. The East India Company wanted to annex Coorg because it being at the crest of the Western Ghauts, they knew that if they had their garrison in Coorg, they could command the surrounding districts of Malabar, South Canara and Mysore. Another attraction which Coorg had for them was its cool and bracing climate.

The East India Company had come in contact with Veera Rājēndra Wadeyar the elder, the uncle of the last Rājah of Coorg, in the year 1790 and had entered into a solemn treaty of friendship and mutual alliance with him against their common enemy, Tīppu Sultān of Mysore. The Company wanted supplies and a safe passage for their troops on their march from Tellicherry on the

CHIKAVEERARĀJEṄDRA WADEYAR

The last Rājah of Coorg

West Coast to Srirangapattana, as also a place of rest for their sick and the wounded. The Rājah of Coorg who had been treacherously confined in the Periyapatnam fort by the Sultān and who had escaped from there after ten years of humiliating confinement, voluntarily rendered all help to the British forces in the Third and Fourth Mysore Wars and did not take any payment for the services so rendered, though they amounted to about six lakhs of rupees in cash. After the fall of Tīppu, the Rājah continued to maintain very cordial relations with the Company's Officers, and built for their use a guest house in Mercara well furnished in European style.

The East India Company's Officers from Madras and Bangalore were visiting Coorg fairly in large numbers either on their way to Tellicherry or Cannanore on the West Coast or for hunting in Coorg and they were provided with all amenities in Coorg by Vīrarāja the elder, and his successors up to the last Rājah, during their sojourn in Coorg. Therefore, the British Officers knew the layout of the country. Lieut. Connor, the Officer deputed by the East India Company to make a survey of Coorg stayed in Coorg with his party for two years from 1815 to 1817 and made a detailed survey of the geographical, climatical, economical and political conditions of Coorg. Meanwhile, the East India Company had reduced the Coorg Rājahs to the position of dependent allies from that of independent princes on the plea that the Coorg Rājahs having been the feudatories of Tīppu Sultān should pay tribute to them since they were the successors to the Sultān's government.

Vīrarājēndra Wadeyar II succeeded to such a principality in 1820 after the death of his father, Liṅga Rājēndra Wadeyar. He was young and inexperienced and to his misfortune was guided by evil counsellors, chief among whom was his Dewan, the lame Basavanna. Basavanna was a low caste upstart who had risen from the position of a dog-boy in the time of the Rājah's father to that of the Dewan in the time of Vīrarāja.

Dewan Basavanna was very haughty and arrogant and was naturally disliked by the principal men of Coorg. At his instance,

possibly, Vīra Rājēndra Wadeyar liquidated those who had displeased or thwarted him during the life time of his father, as soon as he ascended his father's throne. One Chennavīra, a close relative of the Rājah, escaped with his family across the Mysore frontier. He had been accused of plotting against the Rājah. Vīrarājēndra Wadeyar wrote to Colonel Cole, the Resident in Mysore, requesting him to apprehend Chennavīra and to send him back to Coorg. Cole had the man apprehended near Periyāpatna and sent him back to Coorg with a letter to the Rājah requesting information as to the guilt of and the punishment awarded to the refugee. Vīrarājah did not give any answer to the Resident, but had Chennavīra and his family assassinated one night at Kantamurnad, ten miles away from Mercara. After this inaugural bloodshed Vīrarāja seems to have been less cruel than his father or uncle.

One Moddayya, a Lingāyat and a *Killedar* of Sīra, who had known Vīrarāja has described Vīrarāja in the following words to Mr. Graeme, an Officer of the Madras Government, in October 1833, six months before the annexation of Coorg by the Company. "Virarajah is rather fair, of middling stature and neither very stout nor very thin; he is active in mind and body, about 25 years of age, agreeable and pleasing in conversations, but impatient of opposition. He is devoted to field sports and fond of military tactics and has more pretensions to literature and general knowledge than his father, writes Persian and Canarese, speaks Oordu, Hindi and Canarese." He and his predecessors ruled the people justly but strictly, prohibited the people from talking even in private conversation about the transactions of the government or those of the ruling family. Any person who infringed this rule was punished by the Rājah himself according to the severity of the offence committed.

There seems to have been some cases of execution for offences against the State or the Rājah. Some British subjects were reported to have been detained at Mercara. Rumours of these acts reached Cassamajor, the Resident in Mysore. Cassamajor went in person to Mercara in 1826 to make enquiries on the spot.

The Rājah denied all accusations against him. Cassamajor returned to Mysore little satisfied. Still his account of the Rājah was on the whole rather favourable. He wrote to the Governor General: "the Rājah appeared anxious to please the British Government, was inquisitive, showed a good deal of intelligence and there was some hope of improvement as he was a young man."

But in 1832 an unhappy difference arose between the Rājah and the Company which ultimately resulted in the deposition of the Rājah and the annexation of Coorg. The Rājah's father Liṅgarājēndra Wadeyar had given his daughter Devammaji in marriage to one Coorgi by name Aiyappa and had him converted as a Lingāyat and renamed him as Chenna Basavappa. Chenna Basavappa was given free grant of land and a palace in a village about five miles from Mercara. But Chenna Basavappa was haughty and overbearing and was dissatisfied with what he considered his subordinate position. He found that Vīrarāja was unpopular with the principal Coorgis of the country as he had been showing undue favour to his upstart Dewan, the lame Basavanna. As Chenna Basavappa was now connected with the Coorg royal family by marriage he became over ambitous and it is said aspired for the throne. He tried to spread disaffection among the people against the Rājah. The Rājah got hint of his treasonable intentions and wanted to punish him.

Chenna Basavappa got scent of the Rājah's intention to punish him and fled with his wife and some followers from his residence at Appugolla one night early in September 1832 and sought the protection of the British Resident at Śriraṅgapattana. He fired at the Rājah's guards who opposed him at the Coorg frontier and escaped to the Mysore territory.

The Rājah was very much incensed at the flight of Chenna Basavappa and immediately wrote letters to the British Resident to send back the fugitive to him. Chenna Basavappa was a scheming fellow and the Rājah feared that he might prejudice the Company against him by misrepresentation of facts. Therefore the Rājah wrote to Cassamajor, the British Resident to deliver up the fugitive to him. Cassamajor demurred and referred the

matter to the Government. The Supreme Government decided on the 18th of January 1833 that the Coorg refugees should not be made over to Vīrarāja. The Rājah was surprised by this answer and addressed in very appealing letters to the Governors of Madras and Bombay and to the Governor General of India to send the fugitive, Chenna Basavappa, back to him. He also wrote letters to his friends among the British Officers to use their influence with the Company to restore to him the fugitives. Here is an extract from a letter he wrote to William Jefferson, an officer of the East India Company, who had stayed at Mercara as his guest for twenty-two days in 1830, and who had known the Rājah very intimately. "The extradition of the criminals was in fact, an existent and invariable rule between us and as is well-known to every British Officer, been established for a long time. Acting therefore, in conformity, therewith, I repeatedly wrote to Cassamajor requiring him to deliver up to me the said criminal. But although, in addition to so doing, I thrice sent persons duly authorised to demand and receive him, they as often returned empty handed. I am sorry to say that Mr. Cassamajor still persists in his conduct not even deigning to reply to my requisitions. I assure you, my dear sir, that the pain and mortification occsioned to me by this circumstance have been very great, especially as I am and always inclined to be, the staunch and faithful ally of the British Government. But it must be evident to you that the infringement of the above regulation will be lessening the respect of my subjects for me, cause disaffection among them and thus undermine the very foundations of my authority.

"I cannot express the regret I feel at having to trouble a British Officer with my grievances; but how am I to maintain my character as an independent prince if my legitimate authority be thus wrested from us?

"Having, however, whenever called upon cheerfully come forward to assist the British Government with aid and reinforcement, I trust that I shall be treated by them in the manner such services merit.

"In conclusion, I beg of you, my dear sir, to advise me what I had best do in this matter. It is my sincere wish, I assure you still to observe all the terms of alliance with the British Government as rigorously as I have hitherto done and all I ask for, in return, is a reciprocal observance of the same upon their part, and the consequent delivering up to me of Chenna Basavappa and his adherents."

The Company had not interfered in the internal administration of Coorg in the time of his father and uncle and therefore, he now resented the interference of the British Resident in Mysore in his administration. The refusal of the Company to deliver up Chenna Basavappa to him irritated him to such a degree as to bid defiance to the East India Company. Unfortunately, his evil advisers gave an exaggerated idea of the strength of his army and of the help he might get from the Rājah of Mysore in case he was attacked by the British. The Company also further exasperated him by stopping the payment of the interest due to him as their creditor and holder of their public securities.

Matters continued in this unsatisfactory state until about the close of the year 1833 or the beginning of 1834, when the Madras Government deputed one of its members, Mr. Graeme, to proceed to Mercara for the purpose of discussing the matter in dispute and if possible, to settle it amicably. But most unfortunately, severe illnesss prevented the Rājah from receiving that gentleman, who in consequence returned to Bangalore without seeing the Rājah.

Sometime after this, one Karunakara Menon, the Vakil of Mr. Graeme who had come to Mercara, was imprisoned and detained as a hostage in order to compel the Company to do him (the Rājah) justice by delivering up Chenna Basavappa. Lord William Bentinck, the Governor General of India wrote a letter to the Rājah in February 1834 requesting him to release Karunakara Menon and to desist from hostile operations against the English. But the Rājah not complying with the request of the Governor General, the Governor General issued a proclamation

on the 16th of March 1834 declaring the Rājah to be deposed and his country annexed to the Company's dominions. The Rājah issued a counter proclamation to the people in the Company's territories calling upon the Hindus and Musalmans to rise under the banner of the Haleri dynasty against foreign despots who aimed at the spoiling of castes and the destruction of the religions of Hindustan.

Things having come to this pitch, General Frazer was ordered to proceed to Coorg and to depose the delinquent Rājah. The Company's troops marched towards Coorg from east and west, north and south. The Coorgies took up positions at the different passes and offered stiff resistance to the invaders.

But the Coorg war ended before it had well begun. After the initial declaration of war, the Rājah began to doubt the ultimate success and incited partly by the hope that a reconciliation was yet possible and partly by the fear that he might lose all, if matters went to extremities sent orders prohibiting the Coorgis from encountering the Company. Thus owing to this vacillation of the Rājah, the several divisions of the British expedition, then marching into Coorg, were more indebted to the Rājah for their success and even safety than to the skill and talents of their commanders. At the commencement of the hostilities the Rājah had moved with his family and treasure to his Nalknad Palace, a point almost inaccessible to any army, if tolerably secured and defended. As soon as he gave orders to his troops to stop fighting, the Dewans, Bopa and Ponnappa, who were left at Mercara, it is said, considered matters for themselves and with their friends and came to the resolution of surrendering to the Company and of exchanging, if possible, a master from whom they had everything to fear, for the just and peaceful dominion of the Company. Accordingly Dewan Bopa with a party of four hundred Coorgis went to meet Colonel Frazer, the Agent of the Governor General, surrendered to him and offered to conduct the Company's troops to the capital. This was on the 5th of April. On the 6th of April 1834 the English flag was hoisted on the Mercara fort in the place of the Rājah's flag with a salute of twenty one guns. On the 11th

of April, General Frazer issued a proclamation deposing the Rājah of Coorg and placing Coorg under the direct rule of the Governor General. A prize money amounting to over ten lakhs of rupees was distributed amongst the troops, though they had not to do any fighting in Coorg owing to the early surrender of the Rājah to the Company.

The Rājah was deported first to Bangalore and then to Benares and kept there as a state prisoner. He remained there on very friendly terms with the high-ranking British Officers till 1852 and then sought permission to leave for England. In March 1852 he went to England taking his favourite daughter Gowramma and three of his wives with him. He died in England in 1860 and his remains were brought to Benares in 1861 and interred there.

Thus ended the life of Vīrarājendra Wadeyar of Coorg and with him the dynasty of the Haleri princes. Now the question arises as to the justification of the Company in deposing the Rājah of Coorg and annexing Coorg. The charges against the Rājah were that he was ill-treating his subjects and putting them to death according to his whims and fancies and that he defied the Company's Government when they did not deliver up Chenna Basavappa to him and that he kept the Company's agent Karunakara Menon in imprisonment in his capital and refused to release him in spite of the Company's demands. Now, we shall examine whether these charges are genuine and whether the offences committed by the Rājah were so severe as to merit his deposition from his kingdom and the confiscation of the securities deposited by him in the Company's bank.

With regard to the first charge, William Jefferson an Officer of the East India Company, who was in Coorg for some time and who knew the conditions in Coorg then, has written in the book 'Coorg and its Rājahs' as follows: " We were particularly gratified at finding that this prince was easy of access to his ryots, listening patiently to their grievances and manifesting towards them the utmost consideration and kindness; this ensured him in return their loyalty and affection as a proof of which whenever

we travelled with the Rājah into the interior of the country, hundreds of natives men, women and children with curiosity crowded my companion and me—an Englishman being a rare view in those parts, received the Rājah with every demonstration of respect and attachment. It gives me the greatest satisfaction to mention this, being aware that the most sinister reports for interested purposes, were industriously propagated to the Rājah's prejudice. Another fact, also, I think it my duty to state, in disprooof of such calumnies. Before leaving Bombay several persons residing there and who had received intelligence that some of their relatives in Coorg had been unjustly and most cruelly put to death by the Rājah desired me to make enquiries as to the truth of such reports. This I did and it was with the greatest pleasure I obtained the surest proofs of the falsehood of such allegations by the appearance before me, in real flesh and blood of the very parties who were said to have been so unceremoniously disposed off."

As further proof of the esteem in which the Rājah was held by his subjects, it may be mentioned that on his being deposed he issued a written order addressed to his Dewans, Ṡubedars, Munshees etc. requiring them to state in writing the manner in which he had governed the country from the time of his assuming the reins of Government up to his dethronement and whether they were satisfied or not with his system of Government. The reply to this was a declaration signed by more than four hundred persons expressive of their entire satisfaction with the manner in which the Rājah had conducted his Government and administered justice among them.

These testimonials by a British Officer and the Rājah's subjects are enough evidence to disprove the charge that the Rājah oppressed his people and perpetrated wholesale murders. His conduct at Benares which has been clearly brought out in the minute recorded by Lt. Col. Carpenter, Agent to the Governor General of India and the officer put in charge of the Rājah of Coorg in Benares since the Rājah quitted his palace in Coorg in April, 1834 is as follows:

" He was under my charge and I have infinite satisfaction in recording the quite peaceable and exemplary behaviour of His Highness during the long period of nearly 14 years that I have been constant observer of his conduct, and which has been several times favourably noticed in my various reports to the supreme Government.

" I am aware that, subsequent to the Rajah's deposal, numerous charges of cruelty and oppression whilst he reined Coorg have been brought against him, but I am bound in justice to declare, that during the whole time he has been under my care, no evidence of a cruel disposition has ever been exhibited; on the contrary his manners and habits are mild and gentle in the extreme and he has invariably won the regard and esteem of all parties with whom he came in contact since he quitted Coorg. Unfortunately, previous to that event, he had never seen more than half a dozen European Officers in his life. The Rājah is a perfect specimen of an innate gentleman, though naturally reserved and shy so that it becomes necessary to know him well to appreciate his many good and amiable qualities; he is particularly susceptible to attention and kindness."

The second charge that he evinced the most wanton disregard for the authority of and the most hostile disposition towards the East India Company is baseless inasmuch as it was the Company who by their refusal to deliver up Chenna Basavappa drove the Rājah to desperation and forced him to defy the Company's powers. Whatever may be the opinion formed of the Rājah's policy in thus braving so powerful an adversary it is certain from what is laid down by Vellal and other jurists that he had an undoubted legal right, both by the law of nations and by the assurance that the British Resident Cassamajor had given him in writing in 1828 that he would deliver up the criminals from the Rājah's territories back to him, to demand the extradition of Chenna Basavappa in order that he might be tried for the crimes laid to his charge in the country where it was alleged he had committed them. If the Resident had feared for the safety of the life of the fugitives he could have sent them with an Officer of the Company

accompanied by proper escort with instructions to deliver up the fugitives only after their guilt was established.

The deposition of the Rājah seems to have been decided even before the Company's armies marched into Coorg. The proclamation issued by the Governor-General through his Political Agent Colonel Frazer dated the 15th of March from Bangalore contains the following paragraph along with other things:

"It is accordingly hereby notified that the British army is about to invade the Coorg territory, that Virarajendra Wadeyar is no longer to be considered as Rajah of Coorg, that the person and property of all those who conduct themselves peaceably or in aid of the operation of the troops, shall be respected and that such a system of Government shall be established as may seem best calculated to secure the happiness of the people."

The Rājah also seems to have suspected the evil designs of the Company's Officers to annex Coorg to their dominions. In his second letter addressed to Lord William Bentinck, the Governor General of India, in 1833 appealing to him to deliver up to him (the Rājah)the criminal Chenna Basavappa, the Rājah says the following:

"I wrote letters after letters to Cassamajor, the British Resident in Mysore, requesting him to deliver up to me the criminal Chenna Basavappa, and when he refused to return the said criminal to me I wrote letters to the Governors of Madras and Bombay and to some Officers of the Company appealing to them to use their influence with the Company's Government to restore to me the criminal, Chenna Basavappa, but all the above mentioned officers keep quiet over this matter.

"Under these circumstances I understand that the intention of the Officers of your Government is to take possession of the territories of mine, a friend of the Company, by deceit and that you are aware of their intention. There is good and bad and the time for both good and bad in the world. This world is not permanent for any one and therefore if you exercise your authority here unjustly and by dishonest means you will be answerable to God in future in his temple (Dargah) in his permanent abode,

the heaven." These words of the Rājah clearly bring out his suspicions about the intransigent attitude of the Company towards his demand for the return of the fugitive Chenna Basavappa and about their evil designs to annex Coorg to their dominions.

At the first approach of the British armies at the frontiers, realising his folly at defying the Company he had ordered his people to desist from fighting and had himself surrendered to the Company. The Rājah asked for an interview with General Frazer and in the course of his conversation with the General said that he was an ignorant man, and knew not that he was doing wrong or acting in a manner contrary to the usage of other countries. He spoke repeatedly and earnestly of the friendship which he and his ancestors had ever entertained for the English and prayed for (General Frazer's) intercession with the Governor-General that he might not be removed from his fort, but allowed to remain and judged by the tenor of his future conduct. He often repeated that he was young that he was ignorant and unacquainted with the customs of the world, that he had never been benefitted by the advantages of the society and that in all his late proceedings he had been misled by evil councillors such as Abbas Ali and others whom he plainly designated as villains. General Frazer wrote to the Governor-General after this interview as follows:

"I am led to believe that this account of himself is just, that he is a weak and ignorant person, spoiled by the possession of early powers and that the feelings and superstition which nature gave him, instead of being perverted to evil purposes as they have been, might have taken a different and far better direction had he been guided by judicious advisers and had a more frequent intercourse been maintained between him and the Officers of the British Government."

When such is the opinion of the Political Agent himself about the character of the Rājah it looks quite unjust for the Company to have meted out such a severe punishment to the Rājah as to depose him from his kingdom, confiscate his wealth and even deprive him of the funded property invested in the

public securities of the Company in the name of his cousin sister, Devammāji, the interest of which he was drawing till 1833. The Rājah's uncle had rendered eminent services to the British against their mortal enemy Tīppu Sultān and his father and himself had continued to maintain very friendly relations with the Company. The Rājah had expressed repentance for his foolhardiness in declaring war against the British and had requested them to permit him to remain in Coorg and to judge the tenor of his behaviour from his future conduct. The Rājah of Mysore had been dispossessed of his state for maladministration in 1831 and the British had taken Mysore under their direct rule, but the Rājah had not been deposed but had been allowed to continue as a figurehead. The same could have been done in Coorg. The Rājah was young and there was every possibility of improving him. A Resident with a small garrison could have been stationed in Coorg. If they did not want him on the throne they could have placed his infant son Citraśēkara on the throne and ruled as regent in his name.

Evidently the British wanted to take possession of Coorg for the reason quoted earlier. They wanted an excuse to annex it and annex it they did on the flimsiest excuse. Thornton, the paid historian and apologist of the Company's iniquitious deeds, is compelled to observe as follows:

"The annexation of the conquered territory to the British dominions is not in the first view, so clearly justifiable, but a few words of explanation will show that in this instance also, the right course was taken." The company which was a trading corporation whose sole motive was to grab territories and to make profits was perfectly indifferent as to the means by which it accomplished its ends. The justification that the people of Coorg themselves preferred the British rule to that of the Rājah's rule for the annexation cannot stand inasmuch as the people whom the British consulted were a few Dewans and officials of the Rājah who were not well disposed towards the Rājah.

On the whole the episode of the annexation of Coorg is a sordid business on the part of the Company and the verdict of the

true history of Coorg on Veera Rājēndra Wadeyar cannot but be that he was a man more sinned against than sinning.

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An article on Coorg published in the 1856 September issue of the Calcutta Review.

CORRESPONDENCE

SOME REPORTED RECENT DISCOVERIES OF THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL DEPARTMENT IN MYSORE

We are glad to publish below the note which Dr. M. Seshadri, Director of Archæology in Mysore, has sent us by way of reply to the Editorial note appearing on pages 206–207 of Volume XLIX of our Journal. The Italics, of course, are ours. **Editor**

I am sorry to note that much has been made of my article in the Sunday Deccan Herald, August 23rd, 1959. My friend Mr. Kripanidhi was asking me for some time for an article on the progress of archaeological work in Mysore for the Independence Day Number of the Deccan Herald, and this article was sent in response to it.

At the very outset, I may point out *that this is not a learned article but a popular one. Generally one does not contribute learned articles to a newspaper.* Of course, notices of any spectacular work or discovery would be published by them, and that too, in a para or two. There are special journals which are devoted to publishing original articles. In this article an attempt was made to acquaint the reader in a hurry, with the work of the Department ever since it came into being.

I am glad to note that the learned Editor took particular note of the description of the beautiful temples of Kēśava and Śiva at Belagutti. I myself referred to the wealth of inscriptions at the place. Apart from copying a few inscriptions, no notice of these temples had been taken even by our own Department. The temples were hidden under thick cover of vegetation, and much clearing had to be done before the photographer could take his photographs. *It must be mentioned that these are the first photographs and so constitute a discovery.*

The question of Lakshmesvar has been raised. It may be mentioned that the Bombay Karnatak area became a part and

parcel of the New Mysore State only recently. Since the days of Cousens not much work has been done in the exploration of ancient monuments there. The Department of Archaeology is now trying to focus its attention on the study of the ancient monuments in this area and the *photographs of these monuments have been taken only recently.* Their mention in the Dharwar District Gazetteer in 1884 merely points out to the fact of their existence. *It is a recent discovery in the sense that the photographs and drawings and notes were taken by the Department* only after the Re-organisation of the States. I am afraid that the learned Editor has missed the spirit, and stuck to the letter of the article.

In the last paragraph of his review, the Editor has gone into the question of Geochronology and wants the Department of Archaeology in Mysore to publish monographs on that subject. The study of Pleistocene Geology is largely linked up with the study of Palaeolithic sites. So far, no site on the river terraces has come to light in Mysore. Exploration of the river Cauvery by the Department has only resulted in the discovery of some sites, revealing only the Neolithic and Chalcolithic Cultures. The Tungabhadra may contain terraces with implements near or beyond Bellary, and that region has become part of the New Mysore State only recently, so that work can be planned there in the coming years.

It is doubtful whether all the four Geochronological methods enumerated by Prof. Zeuner, one of the greatest living authorities on Geochronology with whom the writer of this note had the good fortune of working in his laboratory for two years in London, can be applied to our country. Very much depends upon the situation and the circumstances of the site itself. It must be pointed out, further, that the success of the application of the Geochronological methods depends very much on a well-equipped laboratory which the Department of Archaeology in Mysore can't afford to have at present. For India, there is only one of its kind at Dehra Dun, under the charge of Dr. B. B. Lal, the Archaeological Chemist of the Union Department of Archaeology.

Coming to the Neolithic, with which the article is immediately concerned, other methods have to be obviously used. The bones, particularly of cattle, some of which have become fossilised have to be submitted to a Zoologist, and their character ascertained. Some of these bones, and other organic materials found in the lowest layers of the excavation can be tested, respectively, for their fluorine or radio active or carbon 14 content. Whether this can be done in India has to be ascertained. If not, the help of the foreign experts will have to be solicited.

As these processes are greatly complicated and facilities are not available in India, not to speak of Mysore, I can only counsel patience.

M. Seshadri

Director of Archaeology in Mysore.

TAMIL ART AND CULTURE IN PUDUKKOTTAI

We publish below the comments of Sri K. D. Swaminathan on the above article appearing on pages 92–95 of volume XLIX of our Journal. EDITOR

Readers of these pages would have been as astonished as I was on going through the article " Evolution of Tamil Art and Culture in Pudukkottai ".* At the very outset the title of the article is misleading and the contents do not justify the title. It is to be regretted that the paper is not documented. The material is meagre and the presentation leaves very much to be desired.

There is no evidence to show that the natural caverns and shelters in the Pudukkottai area were dwellings of the primitive tribes such as Kurumbars and Vedars prior to the arrival of the Jains (p.92). The driplines on the facades of these caves do not indicate that they were shelters for the monks who did penance as has been stated (p.92). The assertion that there are no traces of temple sculptures before the seventh century (p.93), is far from truth. Equally open to question is the statement " Mahendravarman (Pallava) I (600-630 A.D.) introduced in the Tamil country the art of erecting rock-cut cave temples " (p.93). No doubt, Mahendravarman I did initiate the novel method of rock-cut architecture, *viz.* excavation of temples or *maṇḍapas* out of live-rock and from sizable boulders in South India. A comparative study of all the extant Pallava, Pāṇḍya and other cave temples in South India on a regional, chronological and dynastic basis would reveal that these cave temples were more or less contemporaneous and the Pallavas have nowhere been portrayed as the pioneers in this architectural innovation. Such conclusions could hardly by accepted.

The cave temples in Pudukkottai are mostly of Mutturāiyar or Pāṇḍyan origin, though they show some features of Pallava cave architecture. The statement " Though we do not find here anything like the monolithic temples of Mahabalipuram popularly

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* By C. R. Subramanian.

called *rathas*, we do not find in this area any real gems of temples which mark the final stages of the Pallava architecture and the beginning of the early Chōla architecture." (p.93) needs amplification.

The Brihadīśvara temple at Tanjore was never anticipated by the builders of the little temples at Enadi, Kaliyapatti, Sittur, etc. The Vijayachōlēśvaran temple at Nārttāmalai cannot be precisely dated but the cave temple with a structural *maṇḍapa* in front has an inscription of Pallava Nṛpatuṅga (860-902 A.D.).

There is no *Kalyāṇa maṇḍapa* in Kunnandar Koyil. It is obvious that this statement is made without a personal knowledge of the place described. The correct interpretation of the Kuḍimiyāmalai music inscription is still a matter of great controversy.

Sculptures and bronzes in Pudukkottai area or elsewhere cannot have any theology about them. One would be amused at such an interpretation of the valuable cultural and artistic heritage of this part of the country without a proper background.

It would be in the interests of research if persons desirous of contributing articles to reputed journals make sure of their facts and thoroughly test their conclusions before rushing into print.

K. D. SWAMINATHAN

REVIEWS

The Indo-Greeks. By A. K. NARAIN, Reader in Ancient Indian History and Culture, Banaras University, Varanasi. Published by The Oxford University Press 1957. Price Rs. 26.

This book tells the story of the rise and fall of the Indo-Greek states set up in India in the second century B. C. by the Greeks settled in Bactria on the ruins of Alexander's Asian Empire.

The best evidence regarding the Indo-Greek kings has been their coins. Ever since Colonel James Tod, the famous annalist of Rajasthan, made the important discovery in 1824 that Greek coins had been struck in India, the names of over thirty-nine kings and two queens have gradually been recovered from coin legends and not more than half a dozen from other sources. Usually the evidence of coins would be found to confirm but add very little to what is otherwise known. But in the case of Indo-Greeks the matter is different.

Early in the eighteenth century two coins of Graeco-Bactrians were found. T. S. Bayer published a work on the Greek kings of Bactria at St. Petersburg in 1738. Two hundred years thereafter in 1938, Dr. William Tarn published his work on *The Indo-Greeks in Bactria and India*, a second edition of which was published in 1951. Three new factors have come into existence since Sir William Tarn published his book, (1) the discovery of a hoard of Indo-Greek coins in Qunduz in Afghanisthan, (2) the publication of an account of a remarkable treasure of coins of the Indo-Greeks and their successors found at Mir Zakah, also in Afghanisthan, and (3) the discovery of a new manuscript of the *Yugapurāṇa*.

Dr. Narain has made use of these new sources in the compilation of his remarkable book and has valued afresh the western classical sources which deal with the subject and has revised the accepted view on the testimony of fresh evidence available.

The result of his painstaking investigation is very clearly contained in two charts — a chart showing the Indo-Greek kings in genealogical and chronological arrangement and the groups of kings distributed according to regions — illustrated in the book.

On three occasions have the Yavanas occupied the Kabul Valley, the North-West Frontiers and a large portion of the Punjab, the earliest being the well-known expedition of Alexander the Great, the second being that of the Bactrian princes of the house of Euthydemus whose conquests began in *C.* 200 B.C. and succeeded in surpassing the exploits of even the Great Alexander. Scholars are of the opinion that there were two Yavana invasions one soon after Śaliśuka (*C.* 200 B.C.) and the other towards the end of Puṣyamitra's reign (*C.* 148 B.C.). Dr. Narain on the evidence of a re-valuation of the *yugapurāṇa*, a chapter of the *Gārgi Saṁhita* (the chief authority for the episode) concludes that there was only one invasion and that was in about 150 B.C. It informs us that the Pāñcāla and Mathura powers together with the Yavanas who were known for their valour (*suvikrānta*) attacked Sāketa and marched on to possess *Kusumadhvaja* (Pātalīputra). The Pāñcālas and the other kings attacked Pātalīputra and destroyed the city. The other invasion, as Dr. Narain puts it, took place in about 150 B.C. and the Indo-Greek king in question can be none other than Menander. On the third occasion Eucratides who had supplanted the family of Euthydemus in Bactria deprived it of its possessions in the Kabul Valley and portion of its territory in North-Western India. The passages in the book dealing with the migration of the Śakas and the Pahlavas are amongst the best in that work; the nomad invasion of the Bactrian kingdom may be dated *C.* 135 B.C.; the Yueh-Chi in their march westwards acted like a wedge among the Śaka tribes driving the western ones towards Parthia and the eastern ones south towards India.

The reconstruction of the history of Indo-Greeks is primarily based on numismatic evidence, and naturally, much stress has been given to it in this book. Important conclusions have been drawn from literary sources. The present work adds to the state of our knowledge of the Indo-Greeks and the conclusions of the author are balanced. The study of this episode of Indo-Greeks

had been undertaken so far mostly by European scholars and we can proudly say that Dr. Narain is the first among Indian scholars who has given a comprehensive view of the vicissitudes of the Indo-Greek kings in India. The book surveys the political history of the Yavanas vividly. Illustrations of coins found essential and an exhaustive bibliography enhance the value of the work.

V. K. Raman Menon

United Asia. Volume XI No. 4. Special issue on contemporary Italy. India and Italy. Published by the United Asia Publications (Private) Limited, at 12 Rampart Row, Bombay-1. Price Rs. 3/-, or 3 Shillings, or 75 cents. 1959.

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